# THE IDEOLOGIES *of* JAPANESE TEA

## Subjectivity, Transience & National Identity



TIM CROSS



GLOBAL ORIENTAL

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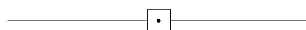


Tea bowl called 'Hashihime'. Late sixteenth century. Painted Shino stoneware

*Courtesy*: Tokyo National Museum

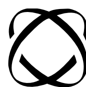
# The Ideologies of Japanese Tea

## SUBJECTIVITY, TRANSIENCE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY



Tim Cross

FUKUOKA UNIVERSITY



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SUBJECTIVITY, TRANSIENCE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY

by Tim Cross

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*For Ron*

*and*

*Mitsue and Hisao*

*Commemorating Joyce, Tomoko and Kazuko*

*With heartfelt gratitude for the patient encouragement of*

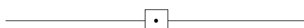
*Ōmori Sōetsu (Urasenke),*

*Tokushige Sōki and Tokushige Sōhō (Nambō Ryū)*

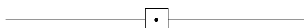
*and*

*Ishiguro Mito (Hōshō Ryū).*

# CONTENTS



# PREFACE



In the late 1980s, after two years of being in Kitakyūshū tea-rooms, two tenets of tea commonsense became obvious: tea is purely cultural; and the sixteenth-century tea master Sen no Rikyū (1522–91) was merely an aesthete, innocent of political and commercial activities. The tension between tea-room talk and what I was reading in histories and cultural studies accounts of Japan helped shape the overall concerns of this project.

The starting point is the 1906 definition to be found in *The Way of Tea* by Okakura Tenshin: 'Teaism is a cult founded on the adoration of the beautiful among the sordid facts of everyday existence. It inculcates purity and harmony, the mystery of mutual charity, the romanticism of the social order.'[1] Over time, these sorts of values were internalized to become part of my tea-room experience but these feelings were also mediated by the gap between what I was hearing and what I was reading. This dialogue between experience and the competition between oral and written registers and their various forms of authority was the context for framing my participation in the riches of tea traditions as encompassing both pleasure and power.

This book maps how the pleasures of tea were useful in the invention of a particular form of Japaneseness. Tea precepts such as purity, harmony and a respectful appreciation of social stability will be shown to be coercive forces that became keywords in the official definition of wartime Japanese identity, a sacrament that demanded the ultimate sacrifice. The legacy of Sen no Rikyū includes being affiliated with the

patriotic Yasukuni Shrine because of a pronouncement made by a grand master descendant on 23 April 1940.

In dealing with the post-war relationship between culture and nation, tea pleasures are examined in terms of the forms of authority that shape teacher-student relationships in the tea-room. This feeling of gratitude for the honour of being initiated into deeper layers of tea knowledge has influenced the manner in which the grand master tradition of tea pedagogy has been treated in English language tea scholarship of the late twentieth century. Films belonging to the category of Japanese national cinema that feature the life and death of sixteenth-century tea master Sen no Rikyū make important comments on the tea model of cultural transmission, the relationship between art and politics, and the tensions between those who govern and those who are governed.

The first chapter includes an account of the range of tea pleasures that might be experienced in a Hakata tea-room. This introduction for general readers to the moment-by-moment joys of tea is an example of how purity and harmony sustain the host-guest interaction. By repeatedly referring to our host as 'Sensei', rather than using her individual name, I hope to emphasize that respectful deference is an important component of tea etiquette. My foregrounding of the generally immutable teacher-student distinction inside the tea-room is an important counter-balance to the later criticism of the grand master system: the display of polite distance in Chapter 1 implicates me in what I later criticize.

The following chapters survey the history of how Japanese culture was presented as a timeless unchanging tradition. It is important to note that the definition of what constitutes authentic Japanese culture was being politicized to support the formation of the modern Japanese nation-state. Transience as a principle that governs nature was applied to the social world, linking short-lived beauty with service to the government of the day.[2] A government propaganda campaign that featured tea was part of a systematic attempt to minimize international criticism of Japan for aggressive acts against China. Japanese sources document that tea was one nationally distinctive cultural practice that was building support for the war effort.

The experience of calm tea-rooms is contrasted with the centrality of harmony in the Japanese mythology of Japaneseness. The grand

master representation of Sen no Rikyū in 1940 constructs tea as more than a sacramental celebration of social and natural transience. Tea operates as state nationalism when tradition embraces technology: on 21 April 1940, a portion of the Sen no Rikyū memorial service was featured on a national radio broadcast.

Having established how grand masters transformed tea for war into tea for peace, Japanese critiques of the excesses of various grand master systems are introduced. With this background in place, a close reading of a short novel by Nobel Prize winner Kawabata Yasunari details how the vulgar decline of post-war tea values is represented.

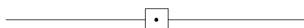
In today's world we are increasingly assailed by commercial, political and theological forms of authority peddling narrow definitions of what constitutes authentic experience and action. The analytical attention to the category of authenticity and the mechanisms that maintain the whisked and steeped tea traditions may be read in a manner that resonates beyond the book's stated concern with tea.[3]

Although the fictocritical writings of Stephen Muecke, Katrina Schlunke and Michael Taussig have recently inspired me to write from inside the experience of culture as embodied pleasure and power, the demands of my argument usually require me to stand outside and gesture towards what tradition conceals and represses.[4] Underneath the thread of my thesis is a deeper written rhythm that is similar to the experience of learning tea: cycles of repetition, leading to a partial mastery.

The final section of the book is an obvious exception to the neat linearity of the preceding material. That format puts the ideological subconscious of the post-war tea world in the context of the US-Japan relationship and highlights the global status of tea as a transnational icon of Japaneseness that transcends ethnicity and language. As you know, an international media tells us that contemporary Japan is so much more about *anime* and *manga* culture than tea scoops and Kawabata Yasunari's 1952 novel, *Thousand Cranes*.[5] Given that I have argued that tea is the gentle presentation of an aesthetic surprise, I wanted to leave readers with a fictocritical image of how Sen no Rikyū assesses the tradition founded in his name. Rather than the imploding closure of a conventional conclusion, this section reaches out to embrace the soft capital of the pop culture that Japan has been exporting.

[1] Okakura Tenshin (Oketani Hideaki trans.), *Cha no Hon* [The Book of Tea], (Tōkyō: Kodansha, 1994 [1906]), p. 219.
[2] M. G. Sheftall, *Blossoms in the Wind: Human Legacies of the Kamikaze* (New York: New American Library, 2005).
[3] Patricia Jane Graham, *Tea of the Sages: The Art of Sencha* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998).
[4] For an example of fictocritical writing about the Hakata Gion Yamakasa festival, see 'Fictocritical Hakata: Yamakasa Ethos as Corporeal Tradition', *Fukuoka University Review of Literature and Humanities*, vol. 39, no. 3 (2007), pp. 581–629. http://www.adm.fukuoka-u.ac.jp/fu844/home2/Ronso/Jinbun/L39–3/L3903_0581.pdf
[5] Kōichi Iwabuchi, *Recentering globalization: popular culture and Japanese transnationalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002).

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS



With the wide-eyed euphoria of someone publishing their first book, I embrace all omissions, errors, erratic macrons and inadequacies contained herein as my sole responsibility.

I have been blessed with the encouragement of a number of mentors whose support exceeds the life-span of this project from its conception in individual papers and final publication. I would like to thank former Ballina High School teachers Wayne Mewing, Malcolm Smith and Bill Watson for collectively nurturing my interest in the relationship between language, culture and history. Glen Hewett, the patron saint of punctuality, and Peter Hewett, the custodian of Flat Rock, were important early influences. At the University of New England, L. L. Hagan and S. M. Haswell provided long-term inspiration for the craft of writing and Launt Thompson embodied teaching and research as reflective practices. The A List guidance of Robin 'Tubby' Chapman helped me meet key deadlines. Hara Fusaki of Moku-kin-do introduced me to the delights of Hagi and other regional ceramic styles. It is difficult to imagine that my interest in tea as authority would have materialized without Kōya Akio introducing me to Ōmori Sōetsu in Kitakyūshū in 1987. Andrew Cobbing, Coordinator of the Japan in Today's World Programme and the Study Abroad Programmes of the International Student Center at Kyūshū University, has supported my research by providing institutional and administrative support and the opportunity to teach courses related to tea, noh and contemporary Japanese literature. The timely endorsements of Yoshida Kiyoshi and

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It is my pleasure to acknowledge the generous assistance of Yamaki Satoshi, Chiran Peace Museum and Matsumoto Junro, a volunteer adviser associated with Chiran Peace Museum, for their help in locating materials relevant to *sakura* and the special attack units. I would like to thank Kunuki Hironō (Hōshō Ryū) and Shirasaka Yasuyuki (Takayasu Ryū) for their timely support of my gathering materials in Chiran. Sōgetsu Kai promptly supplied an expansive range of articles dealing with Teshigahara Hiroshi and his 1989 film *Rikyū*. Gretchen Mittwer at the Urasenke Foundation helped me by supplying certain articles from *Chanoyu Quarterly* and clarifying the origin of the phrase 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea'. The tenacious persistence of Ms Watanabe at *Kyōto Shimbun* in locating resources was most inspiring. I want to thank Joanne Bernardi-Buralli for taking the time to supply references for material related to directors Kumai Kei and Tanaka Kinuyo. The desk staff at Momochi Public Library were most helpful in locating back issues of *Kinema Junpō*. The generous cooperation of the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots, Eirei ni Kotaeru Kai, Nihon Chokuhan and Top Art has allowed me to present a selection of images that convey an outline of *sakura* discourse. Although *Asahi Graph* is now defunct, I acknowledge their photojournalism as an important historical source.

At Deakin University, discussions with Robin McTaggart and a group chaired by Noel Gough helped address earlier shortcomings of the project. The comments of Hashimoto Kayoko (Monash University), Rod Maclean, Julie McLeod and Lyn Harrison sharpened the focus of my writing. Many thanks to Barry Tucker for online searches, Angela Bloomer for formatting assistance and the Off Campus Library staff for their timely supply of the requisite titles, and Heather Davis and Jan Wapling for their administrative assistance. The hospitality and supportive encouragement of Jennifer Angwin and the close readings of Rod Maclean were most instructive.

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My one-year sabbatical at the Institute for International Studies at UTS from February 2006 was made possible by Kate Barclay. The attention of the Stephen Muecke and Katrina Schlunke to fictocritical possibilities enlivened the process of writing up this and other projects during those twelve months.

'Why Tea?' originally appeared in the September/October issue of *Index Magazine* as a consequence of an introduction organized by curators Matake Makiko, Maeda Junko and Hanada Shinichi of the Kitakyūshū Municipal Museum of Art. I am very grateful to Cory Reynolds, Editor-in-Chief, for her thoughtful guidance through several drastically different versions. Several revisions have been made to the version that was printed in *Index Magazine*.

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I am extremely grateful for the opportunity to publish earlier versions of certain chapters internally at Fukuoka University. The overall framework of the project was laid out in my 1998 'Reifying the deified Rikyū'. Chapter 2 draws on my 2001 'Communicating transience', Chapter 7 draws on my 1998 'Speaking truth to power', Chapter 8 draws on Cross 2000, and Chapter 9 draws on my 2001 'Communicating tea's nationalist fable'.

Originally under an American contract to be published in 2005, the last minute imposition of an unworkable title by the press made that undesirable. Following the acceptance of the manuscript by Global Oriental, the generous suggestions of Herbert Plutschow resulted in more focus on the trope of Japanese harmony and the addition of Chapters 5 and 6. I would like to thank Paul Norbury for his patience and for arranging the introduction to Herbert Plutschow.

I would like to thank the Kyūshū University students who completed a rough first draft translation of the Kumai Kei film: Hashimoto Ai, Akiko and Mitsuyoshi. A soft copy of that amended film script is available from tim@fukuoka-u.ac.jp and online at http://ci.nii.ac.jp/search?author=Cross+Tim

I would like to acknowledge the gracious responses of Jennifer Anderson and Barbara Mori to my unreasonable email requests.

Persistent assertions by Nagata Motoyoshi and David Griffiths that this book was possible and necessary and the encouragement of Jeff Isaacs were all essential to the completion of this project.

INTRODUCTION

# TEA, AESTHETICS AND POWER

ANDREW COBBING
UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM



Tea ceremony (*chanoyu*) is often considered to be the hallmark of Japanese taste. The inspirational figure behind this tradition is Sen no Rikyū (1522–91), the most famous of all tea masters, who perfected the *wabi* aesthetic based on tranquility, harmony and simplicity. Visually, it embodies the pursuit of minimalism, removing extraneous decoration and paring everything down to its most basic form. The passage of time is also reduced to the essence of the moment. This encapsulates the ephemeral spirit of *mono no aware* (literally 'pathos of things'), the eighteenth-century scholar Motoori Norinaga's term for the sadness felt over the fleeting nature of life which emerged in classical Japanese literature during the Heian era (792–1185). As a result, notwithstanding its Chinese roots, *chanoyu* has come to be viewed widely both within and outside Asia as something quintessentially Japanese.

Rikyū's legacy lives on today in the shape of the highly institutionalized tea schools, Urasenke being the most powerful among them, which trace their practice to the *wabi* aesthetic (*wabi cha*) he perfected more than four hundred years ago. Initially, this approach was intended to be something of a social leveller, enabling upwardly mobile merchants to participate during the great upheavals of the Sengoku age

(the era of warring states, 1467–1568). This was because the drinking of tea in Japan had always been closely associated with power and status. Following its introduction from China in Heian times it was long considered an expensive luxury and the preserve of courtiers in Kyōto. The Buddhist monk Eisai went on to lay the foundations for wider consumption when he planted some tea plants he had brought back from his travels in China at the end of the twelfth century. Nevertheless, *chanoyu* still found its formal expression as a ritual ceremony mainly among priests, court nobles and powerful warriors.

As Rikyū actively cultivated ties with these social elites, the arts he practised were ideally suited to the needs of statecraft. This fact was not lost on his patrons and would-be masters of Japan, Oda Nobunaga (1534–82) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–98). Emerging from humble origins themselves, they used the rhetoric developed by Rikyū to employ tea ceremony as a political tool. Under Nobunaga it became a space for negotiating and forging alliances, as warriors could convene for talks safe in the knowledge that swords had been left outside. In 1586, for example, Hideyoshi used tea men (*chajin*) in a diplomatic gathering to diffuse a standoff between the Ōtomo and Shimazu armies in Kyūshū. By restricting access and even making the right to perform tea ceremony subject to his permission, he also locked the symbolism of *chanoyu* into the hierarchy of political authority.

To some extent this spatial manifestation of power was hardly surprising. Drinking tea had long been part of a merchant's everyday life as it provided an amenable social framework for negotiating business deals. By encapsulating the essence of the moment in a confined environment, *chanoyu* set an ideal stage for confidential dialogue and reflection. It also enabled the engagement of ideas that found expression in a number of sixteenth-century tea diaries recorded by men such as Yamanoue Sōji, Tsuda Sōkyū and Kamiya Sōtan.

The ritual use of space, moreover, offered a convenient vehicle for the exercise and delegation of power. The restrictions it placed on access in particular served as an emotive screen, symbolizing the social dynamics of inclusion and exclusion. Curiously, however, this underlying discourse of power relations is often left understated in written works on tea ceremony. Instead, the subject matter of *chanoyu* has been depoliticized and approached exclusively as an aesthetic pursuit – as if all worldly concerns can be dismissed by the beauty of the tea bowl.

## *Tea, Authority and Identity*

The representation of *chanoyu* has undergone some remarkable changes in modern times. Following the opening of Japan in the mid-nineteenth century it initially suffered from neglect as, drawn by the allure of the so-called Meiji Enlightenment (*bunmei kaika*), people turned to Western models of fashion. Even the government attacked *chanoyu* as a remnant of the 'feudal' warrior society it was trying to leave behind. It was in this context that in 1872, Gengensai (Sen Sōshitsu XI, 1810–77), the Grand Master (*iemoto*) of Urasenke, responded with a petition calling for tea to be viewed as expressing the moral universe of the nation. After this initiative, tea ceremony was added to the curriculum in public schools for young women. As a result, what had often been an activity for men took the form familiar to many people today, an aesthetic pursuit primarily for women and synonymous with training in social etiquette.

Conscious of the need to shore up the political legitimacy of their new regime, the Meiji authorities showed a keen awareness of the connection between state and ritual. Cloaking their revolution in the rhetoric of an imperial restoration, even the administrative system was called the Dajōkan in deference to the civil bureaucracy of ancient times before the onset of warrior rule. In the early twentieth century, the power of ritual to reinvent and convey emotive imagery was also used as a political tool in mobilizing support for colonial expansion and war. To foster the spirit of patriotism essential to this military cause, tea ceremony as well was enlisted in the service of the state.

In wartime Japan, *chanoyu* was manipulated as an expression of cultural nationalism. In the post-war era that followed, the belief systems implicit in the imagery of tea were then adapted to changing needs. On the one hand, Sen Sōshitsu XV made considerable efforts to trace tea ceremony back to its Chinese origins. At the same time, by promoting the 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea' campaign he once again aligned his Urasenke School with the state, now that a democratic government was in power under a new constitution that renounced war forever. Government ministries responded by enlisting the imagery of tea ceremony in the cause of the country's cultural rehabilitation. Tea ceremony now became a commodity of cultural nationalism, a powerful symbol of communal heritage and identity. Tea schools appropriated the illusion of sharing in this imagined community to

such an extent that *chanoyu* today is recognized internationally as a symbol of quintessentially Japanese taste.

One tendency that has emerged is the uncritical association of tea with Japan's cultural and national identity. Due to the hierarchical structure of the country's tea schools, however, the values taught in practice are not so much collectively shared as imposed. The vertical transmission of tea room reduction compels participants to accept the definition of 'authenticity' as articulated by their own tea school, and any deviation from this prescribed norm is almost automatically disregarded. As Jennifer L. Anderson has pointed out in *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual* (1991), in effect this is a carefully orchestrated performance. When people observe a tea ceremony they consciously compare what they see with their own received notion of authenticity, framed by a particular set of values which are themselves directly sanctioned by the grand master. Not only does the practice of tea, therefore, enshrine coercive pressures towards cultural orthodoxy, but the notions of authenticity imposed in the process make this aesthetic pursuit a powerful element in shaping perceptions of Japanese cultural identity.

### *Tea, War and Society*

At first glance, the aesthetic imagery surrounding tea ceremony seems innocent enough: transience, ephemerality, purification and the beauty of cherry blossoms falling in their prime. Yet in the context of military conflict, embodied within this symbolism is a potentially lethal discourse of transience with a practical application in the theatre of war. It is no coincidence, for example, that tea masters in the Sengoku age, Rikyū among them, conducted ceremonies for warriors on the eve of battle. The transience of life was extolled in terms of a pure death at the peak of one's powers, an ideal later articulated in *Bushidō*, the 'Way of the Samurai', and which found expression in a number of art forms, *chanoyu* prominent among them.

As Naoki Sakai points out in *Translation and Subjectivity: On 'Japan' and Cultural Nationalism*, aesthetic terms have been systematically employed at different times to reinforce the nobility of ritual suicide and self-sacrifice on the battlefield. In *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms, and Nationalisms: the Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History,* Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney

also describes how the idealization of transience has been used to political ends. The cherry blossom aesthetic was extensively represented in wartime propaganda, and tragically reflected in the poetry written by kamikaze pilots and sailors on the eve of their departure. Significantly, the future fifteenth grand master of the Urasenke School also served in a Special Attack Unit (*tokkōtai*). During the last months of the war he conducted tea ceremonies for young kamikaze comrades before their final missions.

In this context, tea ceremony can be seen as a death ritual, a perspective that calls to mind Rikyū's own activities in the political sphere. In 1591, he took his own life in circumstances that still raise speculation. In his introduction to the English translation of Sen Sōshitsu XV's *The Japanese Way of Tea: From its Origins in China to Sen Rikyū* (1998), Paul Varley suggests that his death may have been related to his involvement in *gekokujō* – 'those below overthrowing those above' – which became such a feature of the Sengoku age. In 'Tea and Counsel: the Political Role of Sen Rikyū' (1977), Beatrice Bodart also showed that he was actively engaged in political affairs, in contrast to his popular image as an aesthete who lived on a plane far removed from everyday concerns. Moreover, Gregory Levine has recently demonstrated in *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (2005) how key events involving Rikyū can be viewed independently from tea ceremony and the image of him as a tea master often portrayed in films. Intriguingly, in Kumai Kei's 'Sen no Rikyū: Honkakubō Ibun' (1989), a film of his life made with the cooperation of the three Sen tea schools, the suicide scene does not show the act of disembowelment itself, but is portrayed instead by an almost abstract sequence of cherry blossoms being scattered by a ruthless, divine wind. This oblique treatment of Rikyū's unseen death perhaps serves to preserve his mystique and the aesthetic purity of his art. At the same time, it is in stark contrast to the conventional film treatment of Sengoku suicides, such as Oda Nobunaga's end at Honnōji in 1582, which are regularly portrayed in all their blood and violence.

This study is an attempt to integrate a range of standpoints now emerging in the fields of Cultural Studies and Critical Discourse Analysis, which between them have been revising our understanding of the discursive roles of tea in Japanese society. It explores the triangular relationship between truth, power and the self in tea ceremony as

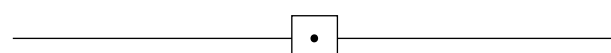
it is presented today. Rather than treat knowledge of tea as a merely cultural domain, here it is mapped out as a discourse of transience, using some close textual analysis of tea transmission practices, tea scholarship and films.

In *The Tea Ceremony and Women: Empowerment in Modern Japan* (2004), Etsuko Katō highlights gender and deconstructs the myth of an inherent link between the practice of tea and Zen. On a broader level, Yumiko Iida has stressed the element of performance in presenting identity as a commodity in *Rethinking Identity in Modern Japan: Nationalism and Aesthetics* (2002). This work, in contrast, employs a methodological framework rooted in current approaches to autoethnography, which assumes that knowledge is perspective. The aim is to reveal how tea discourse, practices and organization attempt to construct certain forms of identity by locating the relationships between tea reason, domination and ethics in a wider cultural context.

The result offers fresh insight into the perilous charms of articulating distinctive cultural identities in today's global environment. Drawing on many years' experience as a first-hand practitioner of *chanoyu* in Japan, the author analyses the structure of the Sen grand master system and reveals some of the forces at work behind the construction of tea ideologies, outlined by Herbert Plutschow's *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony* (2003). He also extends the approach in Peter Ackerman's thought-provoking 'The Four Seasons' (1997) to demonstrate how iconic images which supposedly function as timeless examples of Japanese tradition have been subject to manipulation as ideological tools. Drawing on works such as Victoria Brian's *Zen at War* (1997), Japanese tea writings from the 1930s and 1940s are used to present some persuasive evidence of the ways in which the Sen grand masters used tea to build support for the war effort. The combined effect is to undermine some of our common assumptions about Japanese society, particularly in relation to the notion of harmony. A number of leading questions arise from this study, particularly in relation to the power of symbolism codified in the practice of tea ceremony. Clearly, this operates not just in some abstract realm of an aesthetic ideal, but can be seen at work outside the tea-room as well as in the exercise of authority and representations of cultural identity in Japanese society today.

CHAPTER 1

# WHAT IS TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY TEA?



*The Pleasures of Hakata Tea*

When Tim left the surfing beaches of eastern Australia for Fukuoka, he had no intention of making tea his preferred way of experiencing the seasons. However, once he discovered the transcendental experience of tea rites, he was hooked. For the past two decades, he has been taking instruction in how to serve tea. His current teacher and mentor is Kamegawa Sensei, daughter of Tokushige Sensei. Both women followed their mothers into the tradition of teaching Nambō Ryū tea in Hakata.

In the last winter of her life, Tokushige Sensei hosted an early morning tea gathering for Tim and his old friend, Kate, an art historian specializing in Asian ceramics, by inviting her to act as first guest. The first guest is expected to carry the main responsibilities of conversing with their host. As a second guest, Tim would be called upon to smooth any wrinkles in the flow of the ceremony – an important role, since Kate had no formal training in the arts of tea.

Just before dawn on a chilly winter morning, a lone figure crouches, meticulously wiping each leaf of a low tree in her irregular garden. Satisfied with the sense of welcome conveyed by the freshly cleaned leaves, scrubbed paving stones and scattered pine needles in the outer garden, our host places a *sekimori ishi* – a stone wrapped with black string – in the centre of the path leading away from the tea-room. The stone is meant to block the path, thus preventing guests from

losing their way. But more than mere consideration, this stone implies that the host intends to guide her guests to an experience of shared enlightenment.

Sensei stands, pausing to note that even in the half light every element in the garden evokes a crisp morning in a mountain valley. The outer garden has its own verdant logic. The inner garden is sparse. Sensei considers the contrast between them, knowing that this first subtle distinction will initiate her guests' transition towards a heightened state. Pleased, she returns to the preparation room, which adjoins the tea-room in the centre of the inner garden. Here she makes a careful final inspection of the utensils she has chosen, all of which have been placed close to the sliding rice paper door which she will use throughout the ceremony. The tea-room has two entrances: a full height entrance allows the host to come and go while carrying utensils as the serving procedure demands; the second entrance, which the two guests crawl through later, is only about knee high.

Assured that everything in the preparation room is in order, our host enters the tea-room. It has an alcove where a hanging scroll is displayed, illuminated by candlelight. The alcove's irregular timber structure contrasts with the geometric rigour of the paper-screen windows in the tea-room, as well as the black-bordered *tatami* mats on the floor. *Tatami* are an essential component of any tea-room because they provide the clear demarcation of space that is required for the proper movements of utensils and participants in the ceremony. Convention precludes the host from leaving the serving area to enter the space allocated to the guests, and guests have no business intruding into the transit and serving zones of the host once the serving procedure has started.

While Sensei was making final preparations, Kate and I have arrived and seated ourselves in the outer garden's waiting arbor. Although our host has not been visible to us, we are soon alerted to her presence. We hear her splashing water around the final approach to the tea-room as she fills the stone basin where we will rinse our hands and mouths. As I prepare to exchange silent greetings with our host at the middle gate, I adjust my dark blue kimono and my Kokura Ori belt woven by Tsuiki Noriko. On this cold morning I have been keeping my hands warm by sliding them inside my *hakama*, those large and pleated trousers that I wear for tea and noh. When the first guest removes her overcoat, I

notice her hand-woven kimono is a very understated grey, highlighted by a pale blue *obi* that features a white plum motif.

Finally, it is the moment to greet out host. As usual, I feel a tense anticipation during the choreographed bowing in unison. Our unspoken acknowledgment contrasts with the everyday custom of using speech to communicate. This unity in silence suggests we are about to embark on something powerfully sacramental.

In the stillness, our host retreats to the preparation room while her guests finish the ritual purification of our hands and mouths. Our everyday anxieties dissolve. We are grateful for the consideration of our host when we discover the water has been warmed. With this thoughtfulness fresh in our minds, we file past a sunken waste pit, containing a small pile of garden refuse, where the last of our worldly concerns should be symbolically discarded.

The low, garden-side entrance to the tea-room is barely two feet high. It must be entered on one's hands and knees. The mild discomfort of crawling while wearing kimono is a deliberate attempt to intensify the division of space that started with our transition from the outer to the inner gardens. It encourages us once more to leave all social status and worries outside. The principal guest enters first, kneels in front of the alcove, and bows behind her fan before regarding the scroll. She then stands and crosses the tea-room diagonally before making an acute right-hand turn. Entering the host's serving zone, the first guest kneels to view the sunken hearth located between the positions of the host and first guest. Kate inspects its weathered wooden frame and cast iron kettle with an expression that suggests she is reminded of the greatness that can be found in the inconspicuous details of the irregular and the ordinary.

At this point, it is my role as last guest to coordinate our interaction that will unfold in the tea-room. I enter, audibly closing the sliding door as a signal to our host that we are almost ready. I am aware that my kneeling inspection of the scroll, followed by my diagonal approach and acute turn towards the hearth, must allow the first guest to walk by me in that confined space. I take the hypotenuse while she performs a right-angle turn to the left that would not be judged ungraceful, even on the noh stage. A neat triangle is momentarily inscribed on the rectangular *tatami* mats by our pristine white split-toed socks. The rigour of our movements brings to mind the walking of monks between meditations.

Eyes wide, the first guest sits in her designated place ahead of me in the candlelit room. Once we are comfortably kneeling in our positions, with the principal guest sitting closest to the hanging scroll, Sensei slowly slides the large screen open. Host and kneeling guests all bow deeply in unison. The candlelight contrasts the sheen of Sensei's dark green kimono with the heavily textured *obi* that once belonged to her mother. Our host apologizes for her serving only tea and thanks us for taking the time to meet. In turn, Kate and I both express our delight at being offered this unique gift of hospitality.

Our host stands and enters the tea-room, carrying a striking bamboo basket containing the necessary implements for preparing the charcoal. She leaves the room briefly, returns with a dish containing ash, and commences the formal charcoal preparation. Sensei methodically places the metal chopsticks, two metal rings, a brush made of osprey feathers, and the incense container in their positions on the *tatami*. Neatly sliding the metal rings into the kettle's shell-shaped lugs, she smoothly lifts the full kettle off the fire in a manner that belies just how heavy the vessel must be. She places it to one side on a folded mat of thick paper that protects the *tatami* from the heat of the kettle. Our host uses the feather brush to purify the hearth in a set of strokes that have a steady measured quality, adds the new charcoal, and brushes the hearth for a second time in a noticeably brisker manner. Using the metal chopsticks, she adds incense to the fire, and a heavenly fragrance fills the room, a most palpable gift from the host that confirms that the charcoal will boil the water. Both guests inch forward and I almost gasp at the simple beauty of the charcoal. Its red glow lends the ash a monumental quality that brings to mind the snow-covered mountains outside.

After a few moments, I notice that the first guest seems to be mesmerized by the combination of this scent and Sensei's economic handling of the utensils. I wonder if the first guest will miss the cue to address her host. As the first guest remains silent while our host closes the lid of the incense container, I speak somewhat out of turn, gently suggesting to our host that Kate might like to inspect this prized object. After turning it to face the first guest and placing it in front of her, our host returns the other tools to their specific positions in the dark bamboo basket, and leaves the room.

While our host is outside the room, I silently invite the first guest to

retrieve the incense container. She moves out and back on her knees. Once our host hears that her first guest has returned to her position of honour, our host reenters with a larger feather brush and sweeps away any dust from the serving area while sliding backwards on her knees, facing the guests. After she passes through the doorway, our host bows and closes the sliding door. When Kate makes the formulaic apology to me for inspecting the incense container first, I bow. She admires the hand-painted plum blossoms on its exterior, rendered in several sparse powerful strokes. As she passes it on to me, she whispers 'Kenzan, right? Ogata Kenzan!', visibly excited at handling a piece by this important eighteenth-century artist. I carefully inspect both sides of the lid, as well as the unglazed section of the base, before returning it to Kate. She turns the incense container to face our host and places the incense container in the position that will be easiest for Sensei to handle. Once Sensei has heard Kate glide back to her position, our host opens the sliding door and re-enters the room.

Although it is conventional for guests to repair to the outdoor waiting arbor while the kettle boils, the absence of a meal allows Sensei to hold an impromptu *zazen* meditation. We respectfully face the scroll and recite its contents: 'Short Pledge to the Way of Tea: To truly conduct oneself, now, with Harmony, Respect, Purity and Tranquility; to have tea with body and mind solitary and clear; and, with hope, to perpetually adhere to the Secret and diligently realize the state of existence which conforms with the Ultimate Reality.' We perform our meditation, kneeling in the formal *seiza* position. Sensei announces the end of the *zazen* session by soundlessly opening the tea-room's skylight, and quietly leaving the room. At this moment when the candlelight is eclipsed by the first rays of morning sun, I recall the *sekimori ishi* on the stepping stone outside – a symbol of our host's promise that our experience together will open the doors of perception. Everything seems so vitally fresh.

As my eyes adjust, I notice the pledge scroll has been replaced by a bamboo vase holding a single white camellia laden with morning dew. Both the fresh water container and the container for thick tea – in its decorative silk bag – have been placed in their specific positions. I realize I have lost my sense of time. Kate and I stand, walk one lap of the room and then return to our positions.

Now Sensei slides open the door, and the black Raku tea bowl

placed on the floor in front of her fills my vision. It contains the folded and damp linen cloth used to purify the tea bowl, the tea whisk, and the tea scoop. Kate recognizes the bowl. It is named 'Kamiyaguro,' named after Kamiya Sōtan (1551–1635), a noted sixteenth-century tea master and merchant of Hakata. Because this bowl was made by Chōjirō, a sixteenth-century artisan who worked under the direction of Sen no Rikyū, it is nationally revered. But for members of Hakata's Nambō Ryū school of tea, this tea bowl has a different weight. This precious bowl is more like an heirloom from an honoured ancestor.

Our host carries the bowl as if it contains the destiny of all present. She kneels and places it in its spot before standing and returning with the wastewater container, the lid rest, and the water scoop. Our host commences the relatively formal procedure for serving thick tea. She removes the tall-shouldered tea container from its woven silk storage bag. The guests catch a glimpse of the patina that the elegant bag has acquired over the generations. We notice the subdued details of its flower motifs.

Sensei's movements are deft, decisive, and delicate. While she solemnly examines the four directions of the almost-square silk cloth used to purify other utensils, I recall Kate telling me that this gesture refers to the pre-war imperative to respect the emperor, one's parents, one's teachers, and one's friends. Ever the art historian, she had also pointed out that after an American constitution was negotiated upon Japan, the emperor was no considered longer divine, therefore the nation itself became the object of veneration. As our host softly concludes, I also see tea's ability to combine practices from four schools of thought: Shinto, Taoist, Buddhist, and Confucian.

Our host reverently purifies the thick tea container with her precisely folded orange silk square. She caresses its mouth in three fluid strokes, then rotates it slowly and deliberately against her silk square.

When purifying the carved bamboo tea scoop, which I recognize from a gathering hosted for my father several years ago as being named 'The Fragrance of Dawn's Moss', our host handles it as if she were polishing a weighty sword. Kate is visibly impressed by this demonstration of the principle of reversal: treat light objects as if they are heavy. Sensei handles the ladle as if it were a mirror. As our host gazes into the ladle to steady her own awareness, the first guest breathes slower and deeper.

Now our host begins to prepare thick tea, which both guests will drink from the same bowl. There is a brief pause to mark the solemnity of what is to begin. The bowl is purified after being warmed by ladles of hot water. The bamboo whisk is turned three times before its tines are inspected. The bowl is wiped dry after the water is poured into a waste-water container out of our field of vision. Our host then bows slightly as she slowly picks up the tea container, removes the ivory lid lined with gold leaf and places it on the handle of the ladle. Three heaped scoops of brilliant green tea are taken from the tea container and added to the tea bowl before Sensei rests the scoop, curved side up, on the right-hand rim of the bowl. While holding the container close to the bowl's left-hand rim, she rhythmically rotates the container. The remainder of the precisely measured tea cascades into the bowl. When no tea remains, our host wipes the rim to remove any powder which might discolour the gold leaf. The lid is replaced and the tea container returns to its position. She then uses the tea scoop to draw three lines in the tea, perhaps suggestive of a road. The tea scoop is purified before being placed on the tea container.

By now a spiral of steam is swirling out of the tea kettle, suggesting a distant sound of wind blowing through pines. I focus on the murmuring boil for a moment but soon my attention returns to our host. She ladles cool water out of the fresh water container in a smooth, shallow stroke and pours it into the steaming kettle. As the cold water trickles in, the hot water momentarily goes off the boil. When Sensei deeply ladles water out of the kettle and slowly pours it back in, the silence makes the pouring water sound even more like a waterfall. Her reverent handling of the water suggests she is dealing with the life force itself.

Unlike thin tea, which is whisked into a frothy head, thick tea initially uses less water to knead the tea powder into a thick paste. Steadying the tea bowl with her left hand, our host carefully ladles in a minimum of water. We hear the whisk's tempo gradually increase as her right hand starts to move faster backwards and forwards above the bowl. Once she has prepared a thick paste, she takes the ladle in her right hand and pours just enough water over the tines of the dark bamboo whisk to create a sumptuous viscosity. Finally, she draws an almost circular character with the whisk. Its spiral form suggests a tradition that will continue to evolve.

Sensei sets the bowl down on a special handling cloth. The front of the sombre bowl faces her guests. Sliding on her knees, the first guest retrieves the bowl and its handling cloth. Once she has returned to the first guest position, she turns the bowl clockwise to avoid the arrogance of drinking from its face. After the second sip, our host bows towards the first guest as she inquires about the condition of the tea. The first guest expresses her pleasure before continuing with the tea, and our host picks up the ladle and lid rest before returning the lid to the steaming kettle. Once Kate has consumed her designated amount she wipes the rim where her lips have touched the bowl and turns it clockwise to return the bowl's face to the front, as preparation for passing the bowl and its handling cloth to me.

The shape of the bowl retains the fragrance of the tea. As I am about to take my first sip, a hint of the aroma wafts up. When I take my first sip, the first guest bows to our host and thanks her before asking the name of the tea. It is Kinrin, 'Gold Ring'.

Thick tea is an acquired taste. The intensity of the first mouthful brings back childhood memories of unpalatable medicines that had their own bright colour-coded warnings. By the second sip the senses have stopped working overtime and that swallow has a flavour that could be tea. One of the hazards of being the final guest is that the last slurp can be the thickest. Thick tea sometimes resists the idea of leaving the bowl but today that is not the case. I continue to savour the final mouthful as I prepare to return the bowl and its handling cloth to the first guest.

When I make my final slurp, our host turns back towards the hearth adding one ladle of cold water from the fresh water container to the kettle. The principal guest must return the bowl to our host once I have placed the bowl and its handling cloth in the position in front of her. Kate then moves across the room on her knees, placing the bowl just outside the serving area. After Kate retreats, we silently savour the lingering taste of the tea as our host enters the closing section of the thick tea serving procedure. Kate commences the host-first guest dialogue by requesting to view the utensils, and Sensei places the thick tea container, its woven bag, and the tea scoop – with its curved end facing up and towards her guests – out for our inspection. We coordinate our quiet inspection of these utensils with Sensei's removal of the remaining utensils back to the preparation room.

Our host returns to the tea-room and settles herself one last time, moving with the grace and precision that years of devotion to tea have brought her. She explains the provenance of the utensils we have been honoured to handle. Both guests realize that this is the dialogue that concludes the thick tea serving. Although we do not speak to each other, I sense that Kate is experiencing the same sensation of peaceful regret that I always feel when the tea ritual has come to an end. Sensei gathers the utensils and glides gracefully through the host's door. She places each object, one by one, beside her on the floor. We all bow, and the door closes.[1]

### *Tea Pleasures as Power*

This introductory chapter asks the question, what is tea? The fictionalized account of a tea gathering suggests that the obvious pleasures of Hakata tea are the simple joys of being in a quiet room with friends, enjoying a hot drink on a cold day. There may also be the extra treat of seeing an unusual serving procedure. Or a luxurious feeling of having gone behind the glass partition of an art museum to handle historically significant tea utensils, indulging in a nostalgic dive into the local past. Sometimes there may be a sense of having learned a new way of expressing intimate respect through the medium of the tea-room interaction. After passing the watchful scrutiny of their teacher, a tea student may be validated by a silent beam of congratulations as they discharge their duties as second guest. Perhaps a guest might bask in the pride with which a host has skilfully captured one particular instant of seasonal change. My favourite tea feeling is the knowledge that comes after leaving a tea gathering, a unique event that cannot be repeated: recognizing that I am somehow more integrated within myself, and more inclined to be at peace with others. This subtle internal sense may be what the sacramental value of tea has become in the twenty-first century, a faint echo of the Zen intent marked by the thoughtful placement of the *sekimori ishi* by the host.

Between the host and their guests is the understanding that the competent cooperation of all tea-room players is required. The question of tea-room competency often invites anxious paralysis from new members to the tea family, and Japanese taxpayers fund NHK broadcasts of national programmes of tea-room instruction designed to alleviate

precisely this performance anxiety. However, experienced teachers often remind us that the sincere intent to remain in the tea moment should not be undervalued. I recall hearing a retired grand master punctuate a November 2005 Fukuoka lecture with this emphatic refrain: *o temae dōno kōno janakute*, the spirit of tea is not about perfecting the external formula of serving procedures.

The tea universe is structured by a complex relationship of hierarchies between utensils, serving procedures and tea spaces, but that delicate experience of unity in tea does not have to be monopolized by those with a particular linguistic, ethnic and cultural heritage. This conviction that tea can be more than domestic cultural nationalism is the basis of the global 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea' campaign.

As we read the previous account of a fictionalized tea gathering, there is a spatial movement from outside spaces to experiences of boundlessness within the confines of the tea-room. An everyday act like the provision of water by the host that allows the guests to wash their hands is reconfigured as a shared signpost along the profane-sacred continuum. That fictionalized narrative presents tea as a social form of spiritual practice that demands a certain discipline. The mechanics of this taut ritual relies on an elevation of everyday materials and manners. The semantic fields of spirit, rigour and symbolic reversals combine to sacramentalize tea, transporting us from our everyday to the otherworldly integrations of tea.

The previous account of Hakata tea pleasures presents tea as social, aesthetic and spiritual. Tea also functions in Japanese society as cultural capital and other embodied forms of knowledge. The delight of these Hakata tea moments is located at the nexus of local identity and national culture, and these tea routines are wholesome ways of structuring weekly, seasonal and annual routines. The stability of these tea cycles provides a structure that buffers against the disrupting death of those we love and respect. Taking the approach of lifelong 'learning with the body' in the sphere of tea culture sounds all rather pleasant, but perhaps there is more to the *wabi* life of the tea mind than innocent fun with tea scoops.

Accounts of the beginnings of the Japanese tea ceremony often invoke the *wabi* aesthetic: 'As an aesthetic, *wabi* owes it birth and development to Zen Buddhism. In the spirit of Zen, *wabi* creates a simple, unpretentious beauty, with which all participants can identify.'[2] This

book examines that worship of the imperfect and corresponding investments in the joys of commemorating transience by outlining the costs of that identification to tea practitioners and the citizens of early modern Japan.

The intention of this book is to offer a non-specialist audience an exploration of the subconscious of twenty-first century tea practices and pedagogy. Herbert Plutschow's historical survey of the beginnings of the Japanese tea ceremony and his outline of the tea world legacy of Sen no Rikyū (1522–91) is our point of departure.[3] While providing those readers who have limited tea-room experience with some sense of the range of tea pleasures, this book outlines the consequences of the Sen no Rikyū ancestry both inside and outside tea-rooms. I explore how transitive Rikyū-ness has been useful in forming certain identities. My wider agenda is to use the specific example of modern Sen tea values and practices to interrogate the more problematic category of the Japanese nation.

The following chapters address certain ideological subtexts of tea by positioning tea-room pleasures as being framed by various forms of power and authority. The keywords of subjectivity, transience and national identity are applied to that literary culture indexed by tea's seasonal references. The manner in which tea practices are taught in the grand master model of cultural transmission is examined in terms of how tea invokes and sustains the idea of a distinctive Japanese national culture. Two films that depict Sen no Rikyū are examined in terms of this lethal discourse of transience and how they comment on sixteen generations of institutionalized tea pedagogy.

Creating 'Japan the beautiful' was an early modern strategy for nation-building. A discourse of seasonal change was used to nationalize nature and communicate the inevitable transience of human life by insisting on the primacy of the Japanese state over individual citizens in the nineteen forties.

As a low intermediate student of tea, my interest is in identifying how the institutionalization of tea practice partially violates espoused tea values. My argument is that during the nineteen eighties and nineties, the professionalization of tea discourse marginalized the experience of tea students, and this situation is a consequence of a systematic insistence on privileging the tea teaching system over the pedagogical needs of individual learners.

The cyberpunk generation of younger Japanese who can barely recall life before mobile phones are one challenge that must be addressed by the grand master systems of tea, noh, incense appreciation and flower arranging, if their various cultural traditions are to continue. The transmission of Japanese cultural practices is threatened by the demographic changes of an aging society. Anxious grand masters are facing the prospect of a generational reduction in enrolments, a trend that is compounded by a shift in the dominant mode of cultural identification. The performance of a particular cultural practice is no longer an absolute pre-requisite for Japanese cultural literacy. Being able to merely recognize certain symbols as markers of Japaneseness is becoming an important way of identifying as Japanese.

Changes outside Japan also affect how Japanese identity is consumed. Although tea continues to be an icon marker of Japaneseness, younger generations are more familiar with Doraemon and other *anime* cartoons than with how the formal and spiritual beauty of tea gatherings is represented in the 1952 Kawabata Yasunari novel *Thousand Cranes*.

In an increasingly virtual world where we can become what we see, tea films should be closely analysed. On-screen images of Sen no Rikyū operate as pleasant forms of education, informative entertainment that helps define Japaneseness. The agenda of Rikyū films goes beyond merely reproducing stereotypical images of a distinctive national culture by giving attention to the importance of displayed flowers in tea-rooms. The two Rikyū films surveyed here generate insights into the tensions between aesthetics and politics, illuminating the relationship between those Japanese citizens who are governed and those political elites who lead.

The analysis of a politicized Japanese culture contrasts with the way tea custodians present themselves as being merely cultural institutions. My first-hand knowledge of tea practices and values becomes evidence used to read Teshigahara Hiroshi's 1989 film *Rikyū*, which locates tea at the nexus of economic activities, military responsibilities and aesthetic discernment. As a grand master of a flower arranging school, director Teshigahara critically reflects on the nature of cultural transmission in his film.

I execute a close reading of Kumai Kei's 1989 film *Sen no Rikyū: Honkakubō Ibun* that links tea master deaths by ritual suicide with the

kamikaze logic of cherry blossoms. Whereas the modernist Teshigahara film *Rikyū* deals with Rikyū's mortal fall from grace, the post-modernist Kumai film deals with Rikyū as a legend, and as a set of anecdotes used for self-fashioning by the tea tribe of the twenty-first century.

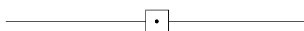
To conclude this critical history of tea's present, I note that the power of traditions to narrowly define authenticity continues to be both a central strategy for packaging national identification as a commodity for domestic and international consumption and a problematic element of Japanese public life.

Critical and effective histories explore the triangular relationship between truth, power and the self.[4] Critical history interrogates those categories that present themselves as inevitable, natural or neutral. I am concerned with how tea practices are sustained by the categories of subjectivity, national identity and tradition. Effective history questions the truth of those grand narratives which produce versions of historical knowledge that favour a particular set of players. Histories of the present are not reconstructions of the past that are 'seeking to find out how the present emerged from the past. Rather, the point is to use history as a way of *diagnosing* the present'. Histories of the present offer one possible response to this query: 'Which today and yesterday, and for whom?'[5]

This book should not be compared with the 1991 intention of Daniel S. Milo and colleagues in experimental history to 'liberate the imagination of the historian, admire the force of the possible, [and] intervene in order to spread disorder.'[6] However, if my account of the life of tea mind can be profitably read as one attempt to see tea as pleasure and power, displacing tea from its self-appointed position as a purely cultural entity, then other forms of social identification may be imagined by readers.[7] Some people might agree that narrowly-defined notions of authenticity, criteria for determining real tea or true Japaneseness, have some power to shape desire and subjectivity. If those people see these excluding definitions as forces that can be acknowledged and resisted because they are not inevitable or neutral categories, that is the sort of intervention that has driven the critical intent of this project. This book is an experimental history insofar that it points to the possibility of being conscious of the pleasure cycle of tea-room authority as a slippery opponent *and* component of the self.

CHAPTER 2

# INVENTING THE NATION: JAPANESE CULTURE POLITICIZES NATURE



> … begin by posing the problem of national identity itself, to ask how it might be analysed and what importance communication practices might have in its constitution.[1]

> Cultural texts do not simply reflect history, they make history and are part of its processes and practices and should, therefore, be studied for the (ideological) work that they do, rather than the (ideological) work (always happening elsewhere) that they reflect.[2]

> Imperialism seems to increasingly work through play; such play therefore needs to be taken very seriously.[3]

*Introduction*

The fictionalized account of a Hakata tea gathering points towards the social pleasures of tea play at a particular moment of seasonal change. We have also seen how Japanese literature can be used in tea-rooms to express the impermanence of nature and human life. According to the *Nampōroku*, Sen no Rikyū (1522–91) considered that the short lives of flowers were being misunderstood because of short-comings in our awareness: 'People in the world of society spend their time wondering when blossoms will open on this hillside or in that grove, day and night turning all their attention beyond themselves and never realizing that those blossoms and leaves lie within their own

hearts and minds.'[4] More recent accounts of the importance of displaying tea-room flowers at the peak of their natural life force emphasize a temporal paradox. Ephemeral flowers are 'symbols of eternity, but of an eternity that cannot express itself otherwise than in a moment. Through their complete silence, they communicate to us what is eternal.'[5] This tension between a delicate instant and that which is unchanging is visible in the relationship between the lives of individual citizens and the mythology of nationhood which claims for itself an existence beyond time. The early modern application of flowers as a political imperative is a major thematic concern of later chapters.

All flowers are not created equal: tea practitioners show little enthusiasm for flowers that remain in bloom for a long time.[6] One foundation of tea culture is a nuanced sensitivity to the seasons that intensifies the calibration of annual cycles celebrated by various literary forms. Teaching institutions of the early twentieth century formed the category of Japanese literature, transmitting a concept of nature as transient. The ideological work performed by certain interpretations of classical Japanese literature became part of a particular worldview that encouraged individual sacrifice as the highest service to the state. Being aware of this politicized version of nature will be useful later when we examine how national cinema comments on the role of tea in the exercise of state power.

We are concerned with how the idea of transience that was sustained by tea practices and literary genres became allied with a belief in Japaneseness. Our primary focus is how early modern interpretations of literature helped shape Japan as the community of unnatural death in the 1940s. The second point to be developed relates to national needs that demanded visual culture function as propaganda: the wartime strengthening of the commitment of citizens by Japanese culture depended on importing genres from Western painting traditions. It is in the context of these literary and visual cultures that the political appropriation of the legacy of Sen no Rikyū from the Meiji period (1868–1912) onwards is examined. This brief survey of early modern tea includes comments on the grand master model of tea transmission.

### *The lethal aesthetic of 'Japan the beautiful'*

Some observers of Japan reduce the complexities of how daily life is experienced into one neat and tidy 'Japanese' identity or culture.[7] In attempting to invest the national *status quo* with the legitimacy of an unbroken tradition, such attempts conceal the long history of vested interests competing over how the Japanese citizenry should experience life and understand their history. The state structure of early modern Japan made sustained investments in the construction of a nationalized common sense: 'The Meiji state perfected the censorship apparatus in the 1880s, and the Meiji state evolved the pervasive thought-control system of the 1930s which led to the disastrous clash of Japanese spirit and Western technology in the 1940s.'[8] The incorporation of aesthetic meanings and individual responses to various arts and cultural practices into this political project is a major thematic concern of this book.

Creating 'Japan the beautiful' was a strategy for nation building: 'seemingly non-political spheres such as aesthetics, language, literature and ethics have been critical – if not even more powerful than political institutions – in the process of building the modern nation, which had to unify its members by constructing a common cultural identity'.[9] Inventing a national identity was an ongoing project riddled with contradictions. Tensions between the national self and the foreign other, and the fluid relationship between native tradition and foreign innovation were evident in Meiji era (1868–1912) literature and Shōwa era (1926–89) painting. One way to resolve such frictions was not to position the Japanese polity 'as an artificial creation with a pragmatic purpose but as an organic entity of divine origin'.[10] As the later attention to the importance of flowers suggests, organic and divine were keywords for the creation of an aestheticized national identity.

Behind the national sensitivity to seasonal changes sustained by tea orthodoxies and platitudes such as 'Japan has four seasons' is a coercive slippage between the world of nature and the social experiences of citizens. Although tea practices centring on Sen no Rikyū (1522–91) present themselves as purely cultural, they are elements of a politicized Japanese culture whose ideology communicates the lethal transience of human life by insisting on the primacy of state over individual.

The legacy of Sen no Rikyū is more than the artefacts that have passed from his hands into tea history and tea-room anecdotes. The

following taxonomy of tea utensils hints at the extent of the influence of Rikyū over subsequent tea developments:

1. Items owned by Rikyū
2. Items adopted by Rikyū for use in tea
3. Items made by craftsmen according to Rikyū's specifications
4. Items hand-made by Rikyū
5. Items bearing Rikyū's cipher or items accompanied by a letter written by Rikyū
6. Items made in later generations as 'recreations' of Rikyū's designs or 'taste' (*konomi*).[11]

Beyond this material culture that has been sustained by the *utsushi* conventions (the replica practice of copying or re-interpreting notable utensils), largely focused on the *konomi* of Rikyū which was then updated by each new generation of grand masters, the legacy of Sen no Rikyū includes a body of beliefs and ways of tea-room acting: 'Rikyū's philosophy has indeed prevailed and continues to guide present-day tea practice.'[12] Our initial concern is with the role of tea practices as a set of cultural resources for managing the universal experience of change in the social and natural worlds. In addition to these existential issues, the manner in which the legacy of Rikyū was co-opted outside tea-room contexts to create a common cultural identity deserves close scrutiny. In the context of early modern Japan, the eternal presence of transience was harnessed into the project of inventing the nation as a divine identity.

### *Nation building demands a politicized culture*

Since the 1868 Meiji Restoration, various segments of Japanese society have contested the construction of Japanese national identities, identities for domestic *and* international consumption. Before the top-down promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in 1889, the Japanese Diet legislated internal security measures that curtailed intellectual freedom through publishing restrictions (1869), newspaper ordinances (1873, revised 1883), limits on assembly (1880, revised 1882) and a total ban on revealing the contents of petitions to the government and the throne (1884).[13] In addition to these restrictions on civil liberties, the

cultural sphere was pressed into the political service of 'Japan the beautiful'.

Power struggles resulted in the political power base attempting to use policy guidelines to direct institutes to present certain social practices and texts as the embodiment of the cultural exceptionalism of Japan. The intention was 'to capture the symbol's definition and its legitimating effects'.[14] One corollary of this strategy for legitimation was the predication of national identity on a transcendental unity: 'Japan was said to have its own unique 'national polity', or *kokutai* – a suitably vague and ancient term imbued with mythic resonance. The *kokutai* was one and indissoluble, and it implied a warm and loving union between the sovereign father and his children, the people.'[15] Inevitably, however, organized portions of the general populace resisted some of the constrictions of late nineteenth-century government supervision.

Given the widespread insistence on the sacramental unity of Japanese ethnicity, language and culture, it is no small irony that this invention of the Japanese national community was premised on the assumptions of nineteenth-century European nationalism: a common language defines the nation.[16] When Ueda Kazutoshi (1867–1939) proposed in 1894 that ' "loyalty to the sovereign and love of the nation" (*chūkun aikoku*) and a common language were the forces that united Japan as a nation, that the "national essence/body" (*kokutai*) was embodied in the Japanese language',[17] he swayed the leaders of the day with an imported logic.[18]

From 1927 onwards, this application of European arguments was no longer acceptable. The rise of 'a number of new, mutually competitive agencies, including the Home Ministry's Special Higher Police Section (or Thought Police), the cabinet's increasingly powerful intelligence operations, and the military services' information sections'[19] led to the imposition of a nationalized definition of intellectual integrity. The introduction of foreign modes of reasoning was a scourge to be resisted. Censorship, rather than the Taishō period arrangement of informal discussions between censors and publishers, was an effective embargo on imported ideas in the early Shōwa period. On 6 November 1942, an army major spoke favourably of a review of Nishida Kitarō's philosophy published by Kōdansha's *Gendai*. That journal rebuked Nishida for being 'too individualistic and lacking in

military elements … [In a footnote Jay Rubin notes that the] "Kyoto School" of Nishida philosophy was *not* anti-war, but their justification was based on "European-style reasoning" rather than the orthodox dogma, and so it was unacceptable'.[20] These protectors of this sacred national essence made very acute definitions of what constituted *authentic* Japaneseness.

Against this dynamic background of a regime of intellectual purity, the changing needs of Japanese foreign policy often shaped the domestic identity. This contradiction highlights the tenuous nature of the *nihonjinron* claim to the inherent cultural uniqueness of an unchanging Japanese cultural tradition.[21] This tension between international objectives and domestic identity was most apparent in the convoluted distinctions that justified developments in literature and painting. 'Modern Japanese literature is best conceived as the site on which native narrative practices encounter Western realism as both object of appreciation and as a method of self-evaluation.'[22]

Early modern ways of representing a sense of being Japanese, in speech, text and image, structured a national narrative aligned with the idea of an inevitable transience. In the same way that an emerging body of literature has documented how domestic and international political requirements have favourably assisted the production and reception of Shakespeare's texts as the achievements of 'the world's greatest dramatist', the reproduction, transformation and transmission of literature and paintings were zones of contestation and tools for co-option and resistance in the construction of the narrative of the Japanese nation.[23] The specific costs of accepting certain tenets of that national narrative became the wartime duty of a generation of Japanese youth.

## *Lethal transience in Meiji literature: beauty and death as citizenship*

For several hundred years, *Genji Monogatari* (*The Tale of Genji*) was regarded as a text for scholars. This eleventh-century text by Murasaki Shikibu (*c.*973-*c.*1020) was repositioned for the mass market by the appearance of five new editions between 1890 and 1913. Two separate developments led to the resurrection of this court culture text. First of all, in order to contain the Freedom and People's Rights movement and demands for a constitution, anxious politicians established the Institute for the Study of Imperial Classics.[24] Secondly, convinced of

the political utility of classical literature, the Institute for the Study of Imperial Classics and the Classics Training Course at Tokyo University devoted itself to 'establishing institutions to train a new generation of custodians of the canon; articulating the principles of their project; and attempting, through translation, to transform *Genji* into an instrument for the edification of the new mass readership of the "new Japan".'[25] The individual responses of readers became a means of converting residents of the Japanese archipelago into Japanese citizens.

By insisting that *Genji Monogatari* was something for all Japanese citizens to read, this institutionally-created surge of interest arrested the decline of national literature at a time when Japanese were infatuated with translated Western ideas. Citizens of all social stations had their collective attention drawn to an idealized conception of Genji. Using a literary figure to construct this authentic Japanese identity relied on a contradictory irony.

It is a well-known truism that the past is a foreign country, and establishing Japanese authenticity required identifying with a foreign self. In serving the political demands of the day, early modern citizens were asked to collectively identify with the idealized linguistic, historic and social other of Genji. Identification with the genteel figure of the aesthete Genji was one mechanism that incorporated citizens into an increasingly militarized national body.

The political process of using literature to shape the desires and self-perception of modern citizens demanded more than clever positioning for a mass market. The written language of *Genji* was modified to make it comprehensible to its national audience of non-specialists. An additional complication was the variety of regional dialects spoken by the intended readership: 'There was in fact no standard spoken language, and it became apparent that the so-called *genbun-ichi* written languages created in the late 1880s were no more than experimental literary languages.'[26]

Language was at the centre of efforts to modernize and educate Japanese after the Meiji Restoration because of its importance for universal education. Kanda Kōhei (1830–98), an expert in Dutch (Western) knowledge, coined the term *genbun-ichi* in 1885 when arguing for a written language (*bun*) that could be clearly rendered in speech (*gen*). In the mid-1880s, as the *genbun-ichi* project gathered momentum, politics, religion and literature were important contexts for this argu-

ment to unify spoken and written language. Such linguistic unity should have augured well for the ongoing national project, but three linguistic systems co-existed from the 1890s onwards:

> (1) the standardized colloquial language (*kōgo*), which was thought to be a transcription of Tokyo *yamanote* spoken language (used by the educated middle class, as opposed to the more specifically local *shitamachi* 'downtown' dialect), but which was in fact a mixture of written practices, including *kanbun* [Japanese reading and translation practices applied to classical Chinese literature] and Western syntax; (2) the standardized national spoken language, which was constructed and disseminated through the *genbun-ichi* written language; and (3) the Tokyo *yamanote* spoken language, which was thought to be the 'origin' of the standardized *genbun-ichi* written and spoken languages, but was in fact affected and transformed by the *genbun-ichi* languages. The 'imitating' constructed and transformed the 'imitated,' in a circular process.[27]

*Genbun-ichi* concerns developed against a background of other linguistic initiatives designed to reduce the complexity of written Japanese. An 1873–74 proposal to standardize vernacular language was abandoned when educational policy made a reactionary retreat because of government concerns about the advance of popular demands for political representation: 'The Popular Rights movement, while opposing the government's monopoly on power, helped to reinforce and disseminate in the late 1870s and early 1880s this new ideal of a free and equal citizen (*kokumin*), of a political subject with the right to act for the nation (*kokka*).'[28] The 1883 establishment of the Society for the Promotion of the Kana Syllabary, followed by the 1885 establishment of the Society for the Promotion of Romanization (writing Japanese in English script), were collective actions both premised on the need for a solid linguistic foundation for the modern Japan. The belief of the day was that the modern languages of the West were not afflicted with such a disjunction between spoken and written language.

The 1889 'Outline of *Genbun-ichi* Theory' of Yamada Bimyō (1868–1910) divided the language debate into two tendencies. *Genbun-ichi* sought to bring writing closer to speech. Another impulse was to bring speech closer to writing by developing a standard written language (*futsūbun*). As is typical with so much of the attempt to invent Japanese modernity, Yamada borrowed heavily from foreign devices. Yamada was one of several writers of the new *shōsetsu* novel who

pursued the realist agenda of representing truth by using Western punctuation and sentences that marked subject-predicate divisions.[29] His writing was generally 'characterized by rhetorical features adopted from Western literature: personification, passive voice, inversion, ellipsis, different grammatical persons, Western notions of tense, and other hitherto unfamiliar tropes'.[30] Despite being a *genbun-ichi* advocate of bringing Japanese writing closer to Japanese speech, Yamada was also introducing Western writing conventions into Japanese writing.

Advocates attributed to *genbun-ichi* writing the values of efficiency and neutrality. Although Naturalist authors claimed *genbun-ichi* was a transparent written language that captured the direct experience of Japanese reality and nature as they searched for the 'true' individual,[31] traces of foreign influence are evident in the 1901 short *shōsetsu* novel *Musashino* of Kunikida Doppo (1871–1908). On the one hand, Kunikida stressed that his *genbun-ichi* writing was a faithful description of Japanese nature: 'Since it was exactly what I received from nature, I can also say that I transcribed my mind through nature. It is a lyrical poem that conveys through nature what I felt about nature.'[32] The conviction that Japanese nature could be experienced directly, and then expressed in the representationally neutral medium of Japanese language, has a history that is examined in the following chapter as part of a discussion outlining how ideologies of ethnicity, culture and language define Japanese identity.

Our immediate concern here remains with the constructed character of Japanese literary forms and the porous boundaries between those foreign devices that are co-opted in the literary performance of national identity, a form of Japaneseness oriented to nature. In *Musashino*, Kunikida cites a range of sources, demonstrating 'how it was mediated and informed by various written languages, especially those of Wordsworth, Carlyle, and Turgenev (particularly the descriptions of nature found in Futabei's Japanese translations of Turgenev)'.[33]

In addition to these literary and linguistic issues that drew on Western conventions while invoking an essential Japanese identity, domestic and international political developments affected the *genbun-ichi* project. After the Popular Rights movement was suppressed, religion assumed a political importance. Concerns with notions of the self were an integral part of inventing the modern nation-state and the

educated sons of defunct Tokugawa shogunate retainers believed Christianity to be at the heart of Western civilization.[34] Citizens needed ways to understand themselves as social agents as they explored the tension between freedom and independence in the realms of politics and religion. Protestant versions of Christianity made an impact on those disaffected by the banning of organized attempts to expand the 1890 electoral franchise beyond those males over twenty-five who had made substantial tax payments. The rise of Western influence was reinforced by the Japanese victory in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95); as Chinese knowledge fell from favour, the hierarchies internal to the field of literature shifted:

> To a literary heritage inherited from China privileging histories and biographies over base fiction, modern Japan added its own reasons for revalourizing the *shōsetsu* form as the nation entered a new era of international intercourse … Meiji prose narrative informed by Western literary imperatives would be seen as a literature constructed to signify modernity, truth, seriousness, the West and even wholeness as a nation.[35]

These convoluted politics of language and assertions about the place of nature in the Japanese identity faced those Japanese literature scholars associated with the Institute for the Study of Imperial Classics and the Classics Training Course at Tokyo University who considered themselves to be the 'custodians of a tradition of scholarship, a body of texts, and "Japaneseness".'[36] Their primary task was to translate the eleventh century *Genji* text into the recently popular *genbun-ichi* style and replace native but anachronistic *yamato kotaba* with Chinese compounds.[37] After being transcribed into more accessible Japanese script, the cultured Genji gallant represented in this modern text was instrumental in creating the Japanese nation, palatable for international consumption.

We can easily sense the presence of Genji in the following paraphrase of the 1911 writings of Sassa Seisetsu which sought to placate 'yellow peril' anxieties about military success in the 1904–5 Russo-Japanese War by deliberately othering the national self: 'The true Japanese is a lover of beauty, a person of gentility and feeling, in other words, a latter-day Heian courtier.'[38] Citizens were being presented with this *Genji* role model of an upper-class aesthete who spoke the almost impenetrable language of the eleventh-century court at the very

time when warfare was an arena for the performance of loyalty to the Japanese nation and the military codes were being revised.

The frontline diligence of Japanese Christian soldiers during the Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War lead to government recognition of 'Christianity as one of the "Three Religions" of Japan … by the end of the Meiji Era in 1912.'[39] These early-twentieth-century Heian courtiers in military uniform were subject to appeals to '"the attack spirit", "confidence in certain victory", "loyalty to the emperor", "love of country", "absolute sincerity", and "sacrifice one's life to the country, absolute obedience to superiors"' by the Infantry Manual of 1909, the Army Education Regulation of 1913 and the Field Regulations of 1916.[40] This use of literary texts as propaganda is a domestic extension of an official Japanese diplomatic strategy. Japan sought to manipulate Western opinion during the Russo-Japanese War and to endeavour to 'enlighten' the United States until 1919.[41]

Sassa invoked the endorsement of Ichijo Kaneyoshi (1402–81) to argue that *Genji Monogatari* exceeded the literary achievements of Greece and Rome. His presentation of Japanese tradition as the international avant-garde demonstrates Japanese 'superiority in terms of the literary vocabulary of the West: Genji must also be "modern", the world's first exemplar of true "realism"'.[42] Sassa's manoeuvre is typical of countries wrestling with the nationalist desire to be a modern nation-state while also aspiring to the internationalist status of being a member of the global community.[43]

The subsequent early modern history of Japanese expansionist ambition suggests that a central element of the ideological work performed by *Genji* is the notion of an aestheticized death. 'Aileen Gatten suggests that this link of death with beauty may originate with [*Genji* author] Murasaki … Superior beauty is tightly bound to brevity of existence. That which is exceptionally beautiful is short-lived.'[44] While the formation of the modern citizen was an ongoing process, this linking of death and beauty gave political elites a powerful vocabulary that collapsed the categorical distinction between nature and society. This politicizing of Japanese nature embedded a lethal transience in the idea of national duty.

Honda's remark that 'in Japan, the aesthetics of emotion have been coloured from earliest times by the brevity of the life of a flower' is an example of this discursive use of natural metaphor.[45] This construc-

tion of Japanese nature required a similar view of early modern Japanese subjectivity. This conjunction of nature and society has been useful in accounting for, shaping and justifying what now appear to be oppressive social relationships during twentieth-century wartime.

The personification of nature accompanied this emerging national discourse that integrated inevitable cycles of life, death and rebirth with political demands for sacrifice. The following poem of Jien the Monk (1155–1225) attributes consciousness to the plant kingdom:

> Let us not blame the wind, indiscriminately,
> That scatters the flowers so ruthlessly;
> I think it is their own desire to pass away before their time has come.[46]

Poems such as this established a convenient precedent for the political elites of early modern Japan: like petals in the breeze, Japanese people choose to embrace the oblivion of the divine wind.

Wrapping the inevitability of death in the brevity of beauty made Greater East Asian War demands for absolute loyalty to the state possible. Ruling elites tempered this rhetoric with the implied promise of vernal rebirth in the eternal edifice of the nation. Cherry blossoms, symbol of peace and war,[47] advocate the inevitability of individual obliteration as nation-building. The private retreat of Kobayashi Hideo into Japan's glorious past of medieval poetry and prose may have been a well-intentioned action for a scholar who 'did not sympathize with the aggressive acts of the militarists'.[48] Ironically, however, escape attempts of this sort brought more attention to the necessity of natural and human transience and were neatly appropriated to reinforce the grand narrative of Greater East Asia: 'By stressing the mutability of all things, he [Kobayashi] made young, intelligent men accept death and destruction of the battlefield.'[49]

It is important to note the existence of Jien's poem more than 600 years before provisions of the 1908 Army Criminal Code that awarded the death penalty to any 'commander who allows his unit to surrender to the enemy without fighting to the last man or who concedes a strategic area to the enemy',[50] and to contrast this martial image of the national spirit with Sassa's 1911 idealized, almost pacifist, aesthetes.

The sphere of culture became the frontline of conflict in the 1930s when political elites used their power to define a nationalized cultural

canon and control education to indoctrinate the population, encouraging 'the kind of ideological conformity that supported the prosecution of a suicidal war'.[51] The activities of the Dai-Nippon Bungaku Hōkokukai (Japanese Literature Patriotic Association) included 'the production of a new set of the famous *One Hundred Poems by One Hundred Poets* (*Hyakuin-isshu*) card game, with patriotic tanka replacing the verses that had been familiar to the Japanese since the thirteenth century'.[52] Kishida Kunio argued in his 1943 *Chikara toshite Bunka*, 'Culture as Strength', 'that "Anglo-America" culture will be swept from our country and East Asia … If for some reason one must absolutely read an American or English book, it should be with feelings of hostility, putting to one's own use the contents of the book as if it were some item of war booty.'[53]

During the reign of the Shōwa emperor-god, cultural purists who demanded absolute national unity subjected the figure of Genji to the intense scrutiny usually inflicted on enemy contraband. If the primary task of Japanese literature scholars was to protect Japaneseness, one of the secondary tasks of Japanese authors was to internalize the official standards of censorship, and to self-censor accordingly. Should producers of Japanese literature fail to anticipate what was permissible according to the changing standards of the day, they would, in extreme cases, be subject to the force of Home Ministry law.[54] In less severe cases, persuasion and dissuasion commonly ranged from formalized pressure to a variety of more informal techniques that often worked through the occupation-related networks of the publishing industry and/or personal relationships.

The translation of *Genji Monogatari* into comprehensible wartime Japanese, commenced by Tanizaki Junichirō in 1935 may be an example of just how effective the informal application of professional and private connections could be in maintaining an atmosphere of national seriousness. Sometime around the cherry blossom season in 1935 Tanizaki visits noted classicist Yamada Yoshio (1873–1958), to pay his respects to the scholar who subsequently edited the first two of Tanizaki's three *Genji* translations.[55] At that 1935 meeting, Yamada gave a conditional undertaking to support Tanizaki that was not negotiable. Yamada insisted that three superfluous plot elements which ignore wartime restrictions on the undignified representation of imperial fig-

ures must be eliminated from any *Genji* translation for a Shōwa audience, if Tanizaki was to benefit from Yamada's cooperation.

According to Yamada, the three unnecessary incidents were: 'the love affair between an imperial consort and a commoner (i.e. Genji and his stepmother, Fujitsubo); the enthronement of the offspring of that illicit liaison (i.e. the Emperor Reizei); and the elevation of a commoner to the rank equivalent to that of a retired Emperor (i.e. Genji in his last years)'.[56] Tanizaki made no retort to the assertion of redundant *Genji* episodes and he accepted these conditions stipulated by Yamada. In 1959, Tanizaki expressed his gratitude to the deceased Yamada by emphasizing that without the encouragement of Yamada, Tanizaki would have not managed to embark on the *Genji* translations.

On the question of the application of formalized pressure versus the more informal incentives to self-censor that often worked through professional and/or personal relationships, once the war was lost 'Tanizaki revealed that … he had actually been forced to make distortions [i.e. omissions] in order not to infringe upon the taboos of the "hard-headed militarists".'[57] In later writing Tanizaki did not explicitly identify the source of the pressure. Although at that spring meeting Tanizaki did not oppose the 1935 Yamada assertion that the absence of certain problematic elements would not compromise the integrity of *Genji*, Jay Rubin notes that the 'first two objectionable incidents, far from being inessential to the plot, are – as any reader of *Genji* will immediately recognize – *the* most decisive elements in determining the cyclical structure of the novel and its theme of retribution'.[58] The experience of Tanizaki is an example of the machinations by which the pleasures of literary texts became zones of imperial indoctrination.

Such waves of patriotic ideology were not without their opponents who envisioned a different mode of identification with various polities. The righteousness of the mission to unilaterally impose the Japanese way throughout Asia was created despite a 'conscious, organized attempt to invert the relationship between education and nationalism … [by] viewing one's countrymen through the eyes of humanity, instead of viewing humanity through the eyes of one's countrymen'.[59] During the Taishō period (1912–26) there were some optimistic moments when the fervour of Meiji patriotism apparently started to yield to a larger perspective: 'In 1917, school textbooks were revised to include some of the internationalism associated with World War I, and

the end of the war in 1918 bought to Japan the same mood favouring pacifism, constitutionalism, and international cooperation that was sweeping the rest of the world.'[60] These prospects for a less aggressive form of nationalism were dimmed during the ironically named era, the 'enlightened peace' of the Shōwa period (1926–89): 'In 1934 the Minister of Education wanted elementary schoolteachers to discourage the use of foreign words 'mama' and 'papa' among their pupils.'[61] Increasingly ultranationalist interpretations of the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education from 1910 onwards[62] helped erase from popular memory the fact that Japanese soldiers were captured in the 1904–05 Russo-Japanese War.

Instead of anticipating Tōjō Hideki's 1941 imperative in the Field Service Code, 'Do not be taken prisoner alive',[63] imprisoned Japanese officers demanded respect for their rank and better treatment from their captors. Interred behind Russian lines roughly four decades before a generation of Japanese youth were conscripted for suicide attacks, these Japanese officers sought permission to ice-skate and the right to drink vodka.[64]

Having established how the figure of Genji was at the frontline of a politicized notion of nature that linked beauty with premature death as a national duty for twentieth-century citizens, we shall move on to the realm of visual culture and continue our exploration of the complex relationship between Us (the native self) and Them (the foreign other).

### *Shōwa era painting: foreign beats native*

Attempts to publicize an authentic Japanese identity were visible in the field of painting, and provide an interesting contrast to the attempts of literary censors to treat foreign ideas as forbidden fruit subject to confiscation. During the culture war, cultural nationalists argued that Japanese art was equal to Western forms of art:

> The new nationalism that followed Japan's victories in the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War led to the championing of traditional culture as art, equal in status to Western art … Furthermore, with the rise of nationalism, men were urged to 'publicly' champion Japanese culture on the international level, using Western concepts as intellectual weapons.

> This may be analogous to non-Western countries using Western armament in international wars.[65]

In addition to returning the fire of Western conceptual ordinance, there were official moves to embrace the power of Western realism as a patriotic fortification in the early twentieth century. This political appropriation of Western realism around the turn of the twentieth century resulted in the now fundamental distinction between Japanese *nihonga* painting on paper and Western *yōga* oil painting on canvas.

The realism of Western oil painting had great propaganda value and the war painting genre of *sensōga* was another representation of Japanese ideals during the Sino-Japanese War, the Russo-Japanese War, and 'the late 1930s and early 1940s when as many as three-hundred artists served in the military'.[66]

Fujita Tsuguji's ecstatic proclamation in 1944 echoes Sassa's positioning of *Genji* as global aesthetic pioneer: 'The Greater East Asian War has called forth a great unprecedented revolution in Japanese painting ... Today's *sensōga* is the pride of Japan, an art that I believe has no parallel in any other country ... Our paintings contribute to stimulating martial spirit in wartime and will be preserved for posterity. Thus there can be none so happy as we Japanese painters today.'[67] The 1911 presentation by Sassa of Genji as Heian aesthete contrasts with the fighting spirit inflamed by these *sensōga* war paintings. This highly politicized genre promised a jubilant national future that contrasted with the individual miseries of everyday life during the terminal throes of a war that could not be won. These propaganda images were presented as authentic records of actual conflicts in exhibitions including the Great East Asia War Art Exhibition, Daitoa Sensō Bijitsuten, from 1937 and others sponsored by the Japanese Art Patriotic Society, Nihon Bijitsu Hōkoku Kai.[68]

The deployment of these official war artists*, jyūgun gaka*, to the front line might imply a certain historical accuracy. However, propaganda requirements sometimes result in visions which do not tally with the fatality figures documented by military historians.

Winther-Tamaki extends Tanaka Jo's 1988 analysis of a certain formal similarity that evokes a belief in the sacred Japanese soil. Fujita Tsuguji's 1941 painting 'Battle on the Bank of the Haluha, Nomonhan' recalls the horizontal format of a thirteen-century picture scroll com-

memorating the military success of Takezaki Suenaga.[69] 'Fujita resorted to Japanese art history to simulate victory … In an ironic sleight of hand, Fujita disguised the failure of the Japanese invasion of Soviet-controlled Outer Mongolia in 1939 by evoking the glorious spectre of the successful defence against the Mongolian invasion in the thirteenth century.'[70] The aesthetic sphere is that patriotic space which transmutes a failed attack, the death of 9,000 Soviet soldiers costing 50,000 Japanese lives, into a decisive repulse.[71] The reference to fighting off the Mongols in Hakata Bay is important because those failed thirteenth-century attacks became the popular basis of the divine wind mythology that was subsequently incorporated into folklore justifying the kamikaze special attack units.[72]

In addition to the slippery movement of visual language across Japanese historical periods, the nationalist imperative was also served by the appropriation of more recent symbols from across the national borders of European opponents to Japanese 'liberation' of Asia. The 1944 admiration of Uemura Takachiyo for the way Delacroix's 1830 'Liberty Leading the People' 'not only represented historical fact but also went beyond documentary to symbolize the spirit of liberty' produces a universalized reading of Miyamoto Saburō's 1941 painting 'Attack on Nanyuan'.[73] The intense resistance to alien ideologies in the field of literature contrasts with a willingness to adapt the strengths of the enemy in the sphere of visual culture.

Traditional *nihonga* modes and subjects of expression were reconfigured in the politically more expedient foreign *yōga* genre of Western painting. Against this background of native techniques being less effective as propaganda, these images from the Great East Asia War Art Exhibition gestured towards an essential Japanese identity that aspired to represent the hopes of a decolonized Asia. The member-artists of the Japanese Art Patriotic Society served a state-centred nationalism, and their work expressed the 'mutually supporting … desire for universality and the erasure of the consciousness of exteriority'.[74]

Under the rhetorical cover of a plea to liberate Asian from the white man's colonial yoke and unify Asia, warranted by the 1903 assertion written in English by Okakura Tenshin that 'Asia is one',[75] the Japanese state wanted to make Japaneseness the standard identity for the region. The different variations of Asian identity were to be subsumed into

the all-embracing category of Japaneseness, and distinctive cultural practices, including noh, contributed to achieving this goal.

The colonial activities of Japan in Taiwan, Korea and China were given an aesthetic veneer of legitimation by a series of noh performances in those countries from 1905 onwards. Japanese audiences reported that hearing those noh songs and seeing the noh performances made foreign soil Japanese. More than merely acting to incorporate foreign territories into the Japanese sphere of influence, noh also became a means of honouring the Japanese war dead. The *Taiwan Nichi Nichi Shinpō* reported on a series of noh performances that took place on 6 May 1909, 6 May 1910, 5 May 1911, and 4 May 1912. The souls of deceased Japanese military men, policemen and sailors were honoured at ceremonies that included noh performances. Shinko Kagaya notes that noh played the role of a mascot accompanying Japanese colonial expansion, before concluding that 'the settings of these performances – the dedication of a shrine or the opening of a railroad – seem to reinforce the ideological right to a Japanese military presence'.[76]

In conclusion, we have seen that the ideological applications of Meiji era literature and Shōwa era painting employed national mythology as a convenient tool in the creation of a Japanese identity. This common cultural identity linked national duty with tea's embrace of seasonal change and that *Genji* beauty which fades prematurely. This survey has outlined something of the complicated manoeuvres necessary to stabilize Japanese identities for domestic and international consumption. This didactic use of literary and visual culture in the early twentieth century is consistent with the Theatre Reform Movement of the Meiji period. While attempts were being made by Ichikawa Danjurō IX to revitalize the kabuki tradition by making it more realistic, the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kyōbōshō), established April 21 1872, 'placed actors and entertainers under its wings, and enrolled them as "teachers" to educate the masses.'[77] On November 25 1872 the Ministry of Religious Affairs was amalgamated with the Ministry of Education.[78] The imperial project of the early modern state worked as education, schooling through play. Entertainment's contribution to citizen formation was indoctrination with a belief in their divine nation.

### *Meiji era tea: the aesthetic seduction of an ideological tool of state*

In this context of leisure being subject to political influence, it is time to examine how tea was politicized when discourses of government-approved popular culture and emerging nationalism intersected. In his 1872 petition to the Kyōto officials affiliated with the Meiji government, the eleventh generation Urasenke Grand Master Gengensai (1810–77) argued for the centrality of tea in the national life. In contrast to Kishida's 'Culture as Strength' argument for the top-down imposition of government control of cultural activities to support the creation of the Greater East Asia cultural sphere, Gengensai's 'Chadō no gen ii' (Fundamental Principles of the Way of Tea) was a *voluntary* attempt to legitimate institutionalized tea pedagogy as the embodiment of Japanese values, an aesthetic crystallization of 'values of co-operation and self-restraint, as [later] expressed in the Imperial Rescript on Education'.[79]

The Gengensai petition was an argument 'from a position of impotence … [for] the timeless nature of values espoused in the tea cult. Those statements clearly contradict 200 years of historical evidence … Tactical maneuvres are here disguised as strategic, time-stopping statements.'[80] By emphasizing the ethical components of tea while silencing the aesthetic elements of tea pleasures, tea insinuated itself into the edifice of national mass culture.

This 1872 image of tea as the one unchanging constant of Japanese cultural life anticipated the *Genji* boom of 1890–1913. The later co-option of texts such as *Genji* into the symbolic vocabulary that constituted the myth of national unity established a thematic unity between beauty, premature death and national duty. Tea's continuity, dating back to the time when Buddhist monk Eisai brought tea from China to the port town of Hakata at the end of the twelfth century, gave credibility to the efforts of Meiji political elites to convince Japanese of their cultural citizenship. The Houses of Sen became producers in 'an *exploitive culture*, projected and disseminated by business interests, political interests, ideological or religious interests, and dominant class interests. It is a powerful mechanism, serving to disempower people from maintaining and cultivating their own culture.'[81]

In presenting the legacy of Sen no Rikyū as an instrument of state ideology, Gengensai offered the state an act of mutual acknowledge-

ment in return for official recognition that tea was more than a vestige of samurai and court play. When the state accepted Gengensai's petition, the narrowly-held Sen family business received more than a favourable tax treatment, an exemption from the *yūgei kaseginin* charges levied on those who profit from the amusement of others. The Senke schools of tea, Urasenke, Omotesenke and Mushanokōjisenke, the three Houses of Sen, accepted the legitimating benefits of the state.

Senke tea emphasized the conservative values deemed to be desirable for welding individual will into the life of the nation. The following translation of Gengensai's 1872 petition from Sen Sōshitsu's 1988 Chanoyu: *The Art of Taking Tea* shows an ideological range spanning the individual, family and nation:

> [The] original intent of the Way of Tea is to instil loyalty, filial piety and the Five Constant Virtues (benevolence, sincerity, righteousness, wisdom and trust); to uphold modesty, propriety and frugality; [to encourage] the unflagging fulfilment of one's allocated role in family affairs; [to promote] service towards the peace and well-being of the realm; to have people treat one another with no distinctions of closeness or distance, wealth or poverty; and to revere divine providence for the sake of the health and longevity of generations to come.[82]

It was a strategic decision for the custodians of the legacy of Rikyū to position themselves as the sacrament of the state. As the cultural sphere was politicized and subject to government control in the early twentieth century, tea-room retreats by middle-class citizens into imaginative reconstructions of medieval court life were reduced to futile resistance. As the following paragraphs suggest, even today consumers of tea discourse make gendered choices at the intersection of the aesthetic caress of state power and discourses of consumption and play.[83] Tea is effective as what Jamrozik, Boland and Urquhart call an exploitive culture because the pleasures of tea culture are indeed substantial, going beyond mere fantasies of identifying with pre-modern forms of aristocratic leisure.

Imperialism continues to work through tea play because of various strategies to present tea practices as an elite cultural form at the same time as it operates, via the media, as mass culture. Underlying the Senke strategy of marrying into the imperial family, which compounds the top down promotion of tea by business and political leaders, is the per-

sistent 1872 logic of Gengensai. The interests of Sen tea schools co-exist in a complex symbiosis with a particular configuration of political, ideological and religious concerns.

The weekly attendance of regular practice, where we internalize the host-guest interaction formulae while learning the postures and movements that compose the *temae* serving procedures, these modes of experience and tea-room literacies 'all follow the five Confucian virtues which everyone should practise: loyalty, righteousness, politeness, wisdom and trust. *Temae* naturally takes us to the moral practice that everyone should follow.'[84] These 1998 comments from the fifteenth-generation Urasenke Grand Master are interesting for two reasons. The first point is the endorsement of Confucian virtues which tend to be associated with *daimyō* tea of Furuta Oribe (1543–1615), Kobori Enshū (1579–1647), and Katagiri Sekishū (1605–73), rather than the *wabi* aesthetic of Sen no Rikyū which gestures towards a form of Buddhism that rewards individual effort.

The tea of Rikyū was officially employed by Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi as a 'socio-political ritual'[85] uniting and legitimating military forms of sixteenth-century authority and other related alliances. After the 1872 petition of Gengensai, Senke tea served the interests of the modern state by being an instrument of leisure that carried the rigid social norms of feudal Japan into the modernizing Meiji Japan. Instead of being a socio-political ritual for military elites, tea became part of the machinery that created Japanese citizens. The relative persistence of Confucian values, with their firm insistence on fixed social roles and responsibilities, confirms recent perceptions of the *iemoto* system, currently in its sixteenth incarnation in the Urasenke school:

> The *iemoto* system, is therefore not Rikyū's legacy, but is a result of the social stratification and the feudal order and control of the Tokugawa. The *iemoto* system prevented the tea sponsored by shoguns and daimyos to deviate from the norms established by social and political pressures. This kind of petrification of tradition was a useful device for the Tokugawa, allowing them to control the ritual arts and to convey a message of political immutability and stability.[86]

The *iemoto* system, with its licensed pleasures of progress through a commodified curriculum, was a structured experience in an organization that attributed sainthood to Sen no Rikyū. In the same way that

the Japanese state attributed itself a divine origin, regenerating with each new reign of the emperor-god, the *iemoto* system was a tradition that systematically renewed itself as its aesthetic canon implied the political vitality for the enduring nation.

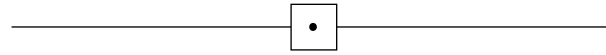
The second point of interest raised by the 1998 comments of the fifteenth generation Urasenke Grand Master is a claim for the universality of tea practice as a moral technology. This significant shift away from tea as the purest embodiment of Japaneseness to tea as a global practice that everyone should follow is a form of cultural imperialism that affected how Japanese identity was represented in international media. A later section considers the post-war export of tea values outside Japan by going beyond the personality cult that surrounds the contemporary figures of grand masters.

### *Conclusion*

This chapter interrogates a central tenet of Japanese ideology: presenting the cultural world as natural and inevitable. This survey exposes the ideological strategy of presenting nature as neutral. The attention to the tension between Japanese self and foreign other in literature and painting is intended to undercut *nihonjinron* claims for the purity of Japanese identity. My outline of a politicized Japanese nature lays a foundation for examining pedagogical forms of tea power in the following chapters. I execute a close reading of a range of popular culture texts in Chapter 3 to demonstrate the contemporary persistence of this state-centred ideology of transience. In Chapter 6 I denaturalize the authority of the grand master system and that analysis is useful in commenting on how film treats tea transmission in Chapters 8 and 9.

CHAPTER 3

# LETHAL TRANSIENCE



> When we turn to Japan, the cosmocentric aesthetic experience of ancient times makes the human heart deeply 'engrossed in' (*chinsen*) the surrounding nature.[1]

> Nature takes on an atemporal condition that, because it is unchanging, has always centered a national sensibility, now evident in the fine arts … As such, nature was enabling; it facilitated the formulation of a modern notion of a Japanese society.[2]

> The history of Japanese culture has thus been the history of a 'nature' repeatedly born anew through the cut-continuance relation with the 'other in its own self'. 'Japaneseness' existed not as something substantive but as a process of metamorphosis of this 'nature'.[3]

## *Introduction*

This chapter addresses the theme of transience in three sections. The first section outlines the development of a belief that flowers generally, and *sakura* (cherry blossoms) specifically, were sacred entities. This first section assumes that 'The history of Japanese culture overall can be characterized by a tendency to renew itself by implicating *and* appropriating a malleable "other-world".'[4] Cultural imports and changing relationships with conceptions of nature were two significant other-worlds that resulted in Japaneseness being defined in terms of transience and sacramentality during the early twentieth century. The second and third sections compare the meanings of *sakura* during wartime and in the late 1990s.

Texts from the late 1990s were selected because they convey some sense of surge of cultural nationalism that accompanied the term of Prime Minister Koizumi. After the moral and financial excesses of the so-called bubble economy in the 1980s, Japaneseness was both a sacrament and a commodity during the final years of the reign of the fifteenth Urasenke grand master.

Tea practices exist in a cut-continuance relationship with national identity. Tea is an internal other, a representative icon that marks a distinctive mode of hospitality that engages with natural rhythms. Tea practices are so cut off from the daily repertoire of many Japanese that tea continues to be a somewhat foreign performance of Japanese identity for a sizeable portion of the Japanese population. At the same time as tea practices are significantly removed from the corporeal literacies of residents of the Japanese archipelago, the depth of tea history implies that a national identity based on distinctive cultural practices has been a continuing presence.

This other-world of tea allowed Japaneseness to be defined in a manner that blurred the boundaries between the worlds of nature and society. Personifying nature and naturalizing Japanese subjectivity, and attributing a divinity to flowers, these three moves were the essential pre-conditions for the early modern creation of a sacramental Japanese identity.

### *Tea as transience: divine flowers and sacred Japaneseness*

The early modern invention of Japaneseness drew on the domestic and imported resources of literary and visual culture, conjuring a common cultural identity that linked natural beauty, death and national duty. This political project of linking the organic and divine realms with national identity was sustained across the Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa periods. The 1880s development of censorship apparatus was consolidated by a comprehensive thought-control system implemented in the 1930s.[5]

Our concern here is with the consequences of using a particular conception of nature to give national identity an aesthetic presence. The permanent transience of pre-global warming definitions of Japanese nature, where seasonal change was constant and therefore an eternal rhythm that exists beyond time, created Japan as an early twentieth-century community united by its destiny of unnatural death.[6]

Metaphors of nature lie at the heart of this temporal paradox that underpins the early modern Japanese state. The rhetorical deployment of innocent cherry blossoms, forever doomed to be too powerless to resist the annual orders of spring gusts, helped construct this fated destination of individual sacrifice as 1940s national service.

This modern tension between those who lead and those who serve was also a lethal dilemma for Sen no Rikyū in the late sixteenth century, as he was being buffeted by the fury of the leading warlord: 'Rikyū's death was the result of a shift in tea from a transformatory ritual to a confirmatory one … The former aimed at reunifying the state, the latter at imposing the new social order on the nation.'[7] Regardless of whether Rikyū was contributing to an aesthetic revolution or reflecting a new world view based on a particular class position or philosophy of life, Rikyū's treatment of flowers could be interpreted as attempting to simultaneously perform transformatory and confirmatory roles in his tea-rooms.

Although the morning glory tea gathering that Rikyū hosted for Toyotomi Hideyoshi does not appear in any records written during Rikyū's lifetime,[8] it has entered tea folklore as an example of how tea can be a gentle aesthetic surprise that compounds a well-intentioned selection by the host.

Legend has it that Hideyoshi was excited about the prospect of seeing the spectacular display of morning glories in Rikyū's garden. When he arrived, there was not a single bloom to be seen. Once the puzzled Hideyoshi entered the tea-room, he was allegedly stunned by the one perfect morning glory displayed by Rikyū in the alcove.[9]

Reading this moment as an example of the transformatory *wabi* aesthetic hints at the eventual fate waiting Rikyū: 'the small is better than the big, one better than many, little better than too much, the subdued better than the extravagant, something short-lived like a morning glory is better than something that lasts forever, depth is better than superficiality'.[10] While keeping in mind the contrast between the mortality of Rikyū and the longevity of the Rikyū legacy, we will explore the following questions in later chapters addressing the Rikyū films: How long would Toyotomi Hideyoshi tolerate the aesthetic assertion that a mere tea-master was superior to the First Under Heaven warlord? Given the choice between the oblivion of a death sentence and a life-saving apology, which option would Rikyū select?

The same transformatory moment encapsulating the *wabi* aesthetic can also be interpreted as having a confirmatory intent. The merchant tea-master wipes out a field of dearly nurtured flowers to emphasize one perfect bloom for the one warrior general who united the country. Such an extravagant act belongs to a conspicuous form of consumption that would later be associated with 'the so-called daimyo-tea, a tea no longer Buddhist and egalitarian, but hierarchical and Confucian … Confucianism and Neo-Confucianism were about to become the official Tokugawa ideology and even Rikyū's direct descendants, the so-called Senke schools, could not avoid it.'[11]

In contrast to the civil wars that Rikyū witnessed as the merchant tea-master serving Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, citizens of modern Japan were subject to persuasion by *sakura* as the early Shōwa government unified the state by imposing a military orientation on the Japanese nation.

When Nishiyama Matsunosuke outlined his historical analysis of the importance of flowers in Japanese culture, he prefaced his remarks by noting that 100,000,000 Japanese people comprised a largely uniform ethnic group who shared a common language as they developed their island country. Although distinguished culture was imported from the Chinese continent, something that existed in the hearts of ancient Japanese has not been forgotten. Being such a unique race, the Japanese cultivated an appreciation of flowers that did not exist within the culture of other ethnic groups.[12]

After the opening of Japan following the 1853 arrival of the so-called Black Ships of Commander Perry, political elites argued that the *geographical* unity of an archipelago with its rich variety of dialects, customs and folk beliefs was evidence of a *political* coherence: 'The connection of the human and the environment as Japanese was used to invert previous social structures, such as regions and locales, and to place them as secondary to the nation. The individual – now citizen – was directly tied to the nation-state. Variation and difference were now permitted only within the Same.'[13] Emphasizing the natural integrity of the Japanese archipelago helped turn investments in those concrete social networks structured by feudal forms of local authority into a more abstract identification with the Japanese nation.

Prior to the appearance of this national imperative, Nishiyama implies that what had been passed down from the hearts of the ancient

Japanese was the experience of being devoted in the deep embrace of nature: 'The moment of "thrownness", or "entrance into", is not consciously spelled out. The self, the spiritual subject, is converted back (*kie suru*) to nature unconditionally (*mujōken ni*) in such a way that the self overcomes itself and forgets itself in the wonders of nature.'[14] Under the project of early Japanese modernity, the self continues to be overcome in an unconscious manner. However, instead of being seduced by the famous *sakura* of a specific location (for example, Yoshino), the experience of the spiritual self is also overwhelmed by a more expansive frame, the national aesthetic of transience.

Once the category of the nation achieved its primacy, a new authenticity emerges. Maruyama Masao notes that nationalized common sense imposes its own orthodoxies as timeless truth: 'the Japanese state, being a moral entity, monopolized the right to determine values … Since the nation includes in its "national polity" [*kokutai*] all the internal values of truth, morality and beauty, neither scholarship nor art could exist apart from these national values.'[15]

These national values were developed as Japanese history was reinterpreted into the legend of the nation. The *sakura* of Yoshino were commemorated in the *taikō noh Yoshino Mōde*, a staged rendition of the pilgrimage of Hideyoshi to Yoshino that was performed for Hideyoshi during his visit to Yoshino.[16] Yoshino *sakura* retain their validity as a *hana-mi* flower-viewing destination because of their historical significance in the narrative of Japan. The crucial themes of this tale of Japan as the land of harmony are warfare, imperial worship and nature as a divine entity.

Yoshino was a site of crucial battles, imperial viewings of Yoshino *sakura* are recorded in the eighth century *Manyōshū*, and those sakura are associated with fertility, purity, sacredness and beauty.

> Yoshino has to do with Japan's origin as a nation. The deity Izanami was buried at Kumano. And it was here that the existence of the sacred sword Futsunushi was revealed and from here a divine crow is said to have guided Emperor Jinmu into a position from which he was able to gain a foothold on the Yamato plain. Jinmu's first attempt to conquer the plain ended in failure; conquest of the plain – where the emperors were to reside until the nineteenth century – was only possible from Yoshino. So from Yoshino the crow, a gift of Jinmu's divine ancestor, the sun-goddess, guided him through the mountains until he found the best point of attack.

> Emperor Tenmu (?-686) went to Yoshino several times during the Jinshin War (672). From this sacred place he gathered strength to pacify the country and secure the throne. The sun-goddess Amaterasu allegedly appeared to him in a dream to advise him. After the Jinshin War (a struggle for succession) had been decided in Tenmu's favour, the emperor received the oaths of allegiance from his subjects at Yoshino. Thus he may have intended to receive these oaths not only in his person but as a representative of his ancestors present in Yoshino. Yoshino was thus a Japanese Valhalla. According to Shirakawa Shizuka, Yoshino became a place of imperial renewal (*tamafuri*) and purification because of its sacred waters. . . . But the blossoms could also symbolize a divine land as the Japanese tried to see them as preludes to the fruit of another world.[17]

The Yoshino *sakura* do more than announce the arrival of spring because they link imperial power, martial struggles for power and natural divinity. With the experience of nature acquiring more of a national scent, the modern enshrinement of *sakura* at Yasukuni Shrine and other Defence-of-the-Nation Shrines made a new mode of being Japanese possible. Japanese identity became a sacrament, defined by an aesthetic of transience that celebrated flowers.

Nishiyama identified four points that gave flowers their distinctive role in Japanese culture. First, Japanese people perceived divinity in flowers. Japanese are the race that saw flowers as gods. Second, in the course of time a classification of trees, rocks, bamboo and grasses attributed specific conditions to them. As a result, they too held divinity and were regarded as flowers. Three, in addition to this divinity of flowers, the visual apprehension of flowers as flowers was an aesthetic convention learnt from the high culture of China. This link with unique Japanese culture resulted in huge developments in the flower culture of Japan. Four, moreover, this flower culture was embedded in daily life. Sculpture, ceramic art, lacquer ware, dyed and woven fabric, metal work, etc., these all featured floral motifs. As expressions like '*hana yome*' (flower + bride), '*hana michi*' (flower + road), '*hana machi*' (flower + town) should convey, daily routines proceeded as a variety of abundant flowers were created.[18]

In the weekly cycle of twenty-first century work and middle-class leisure, urban tea celebrates the instant. That 'now' may be a social moment, one unique gathering that cannot be repeated, or a particular flux of the seasons marked by a selection of precious blooms dis-

played in a bamboo vase. The eddying perception of that tea-room 'now' may feel like a gentle backwater, forgotten by hectic career obligations. However, sequences of these moments of fragmented continuity are the relations of cut and continuance structuring a social world against the background of a nature that was re-defined according to the changing needs of Japaneseness: 'Within the tea-way, life and death are not diametrically opposed. Life – like breathing, inhaling and exhaling, or walking, one foot after the other – is in reality not a simple continuance or "flow" but a moment-by-moment discontinuous continuity, representing the finitude and mortality of life.'[19] The intensity of our engagement with the unique social and seasonal 'now' of tea is one way of measuring up as an orthodox person of tea, and the defining standard of rigour in the world of tea is the death of Rikyū.

The descendants of Rikyū have transmitted to us what are now institutionalized sets of tea practices and a commitment to a distinctive culture. Tea has become a dance where national identity partners individual practitioners, a sixteen generation tradition constituted by a rhythm of blooming and withering that exceeds a merely human scale. In an aesthetic of transience centred on flowers, divinity was a constant presence. According to Nishiyama's reading of the *Nihon Shōki*, as the line '*Kuguhashi hana tachibana, hanaguhashi sakura*' suggests, *hanaguhashi* is the pillow word for *sakura*.[20] This literary evidence suggests that from the earliest times, for Japanese, '*hana*' (flower) was felt to mean '*sakura*'. That word '*sakura*' itself was a manifestation of a rice field god. The 'sa' syllable denotes a rice field god, and 'kura' implies the presence of that rice field god, appearing there in that instant. That is what '*sakura*' is. Therefore, in areas including Aomori and Akita Prefectures, in the first place, the arrival of that rice field god was shown by the flowering of the *kobushi* tree that was called '*sakura*' or '*tauchi zakura*'.[21]

Although flowers were believed to be divine, the meaning of *sakura* changed according to regional variations or across time in response to domestic political concerns. *Sakura* marked the pre-modern presence of the gods who generally provided adequate harvests. The manner of Rikyū's 1591 death near the end of winter has seen *sakura* being associated with a legacy of tea orthodoxies that includes the deification of Rikyū by subsequent generations. The two following sections capture

how *sakura* came to represent the mortality of human life, patriotically sacrificed to serve the Japanese nation during the 1940s. It was not the falling cherry blossoms that became gods during the final throes of that wartime.

## *Wartime* sakura*: patriotic transience*

The ultra-right Sakura Kai (Cherry Blossom Group) was established in October 1930 to reconstruct the nation (*kokka*), and this group openly advocated the violent use of force.[22] From 1933 to 1940, elementary school textbooks began with '*saita, saita, sakura ga saita*' (it has blossomed, it has blossomed, the cherry tree has blossomed) and was followed by '*susume, susume, hetai susume*' (advance, advance, soldier advance) and '*hinomaru hata, banzai banzai*' (long live the Japanese flag).[23] The sakura motif also appears in the *seppuku*-related activities of the Shinō Dan (Let's Die Group). *Seppuku* was used as a protest against government oppression of Nichiren Kai which was established in 1928. One prominent member, a thirty-two-year-old with the family name Eigawa, changed his given name to include the *sakura* character. Certain members of Shinō Dan formed a specialist group, literally translatable as Blood Allies Sakura Group, and took up the cry '*Waga sokoku no tame ni shinō! Waga shugi no tame ni shinō! Waga shūkyo no tame ni shinō! Waga dōshi no tame ni shinō!*' (Let's die for our country! Let's die for our policy! Let's die for our religion! Let's die for our colleagues!)[24] *Sakura* was used as part of the name for some special attack squads.[25] The aircraft designed for these kamikaze squads included 'the Ooka ("cherry blossom") manned flying bomb (best known to history by its American nickname, the "Baka [stupid] bomb")'.[26] *Sakura* featured in some of the death poems composed by special attack unit group members. Consider how Captain Asakawa, who was twenty-three years old when he died on 6 April 1945, expresses his pleasure at dying for Japan. He anticipates going to heaven after dive-bombing an enemy warship: 'Dreaming that I will scatter like cherry blossoms and return to Kyūdan [close to Yasukuni Shrine], I conquer the steel bridge.'[27]

These historical examples of *sakura* are important warrants to the later claims made in my analysis of the *sakura* sequence in Kumai Kei's *Sen no Rikyū: Honkakubō Ibun*. The 1989 Kumai film comments upon these uses of the *sakura* motif during the early Shōwa era and its pres-

ence today. While it may be argued that some of these previous examples are of questionable historical importance because of their wartime brevity, the following section demonstrates that during the 1990s, these elements were a problematic part of public life in Japan. The Kumai film is concerned with the power of an authentic culture to shape individual desire in a manner that results in self-destruction. The spell cast over those tea men by the manner of the death of Rikyū is examined, and the danger of wanting to be 'authentic' is highlighted.

## *Persistent* sakura

This section addresses the issue of the contemporary persistence of Shōwa militarist discourse in the Japanese 1990s. In addition to providing supplementary visual evidence that supports an argument for the Kumai film's meta-historical concerns, two points need to be made about the topicality of this line of analysis. First, the political use of what often appears to outside consumers of orientalist images as nothing more than quaint aesthetic symbols have been leveraged by advocates of Japanese uniqueness and other cultural particularists into a counter-orientalist discourse with disastrous domestic consequences. Second, a similar semantic shift from war to peace is visible in two symbols of Japan: *sakura* and tea. Our intention here is to deconstruct a nationalized ideology of cultural uniqueness by showing its real world consequences.

Eight images locate *sakura* in discourses of the nation and clarify the extent to which this sacramentalized identity has been commodified. Figure 1 is a mural from the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots established near the Chiran special attack unit base. Figure 2 records female students waving farewell to pilots about to depart. Figure 3 documents the practice of handing *sakura* branches to pilots prior to their final takeoff. Figure 4 is a shot of the architectural combination of cherry trees and memorial columns to line the entrance to the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots.[28] Figures 5 and 6 are from a calendar published by the Group Answering the Glorious Spirits of the War Dead and incorporate images of *sakura* from Yasunkuni Shrine. Figure 7 is an advertisement for a video series that records the Pacific War battles of young Japanese men. Figure 8 is an advertisement for a recently-made sword with a *sakura* hilt.



**Figure 1**
*Sakura* as sacrifice: patriotic genders and nationalized nature
*Source*: Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots

The eight plates clearly locate *sakura* in the visual vocabulary of militarist discourse. The use of *sakura* in both Figures 1 and 4 accounts for the seductive persuasiveness of natural symbols and provides a degree of solace to surviving comrades, relatives and citizens.

Figure 1 is a wall mural entitled 'Chiran Tinkon no Fu, The Chiran Requiem'. It consists of seven ceramic panels executed by Nakaya Katsuyoshi of Miyazaki Prefecture. It was fired in Shigaraki and is three metres high and about four and a half metres wide. This mural is mounted on the wall that divides the exhibition rooms from the entrance foyer of the building.

The mural is an example of the war painting genre of *sensōga* that incorporates a spiritual component. Nakaya has used *sakura* in a way that contrasts with the dominant documentary tone of other items exhibited in the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots:

> The picture shows the Hayabusa (Kamikaze Plane) burning in a ball of flames. Six heavenly maidens are helping a lone pilot to escape from the bowels of the plane and [are] taking him to a safe destination in the sky.[29]



**Figure 2**
Chiran High School students farewell pilots with *sakura* branches
*Source*: Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots



**Figure 3**
*Sakura* as an order: the final gift to a pilot about to depart
*Source*: *Asahi Graph*, 15 May 1945

As the Hayabusa plane victoriously crashes into its unrepresented target, the pilot's body is no longer restrained by the windshield that has flown off at the moment of impact. The crown falling earthwards suggests the pilot's body has already lost its individuality and is borne aloft by two female guardian spirits. Four more spirits hover protectively above this representative corpse and one pours a soothing libation from on high, from the visual centre of the mural. The stream of libation from the centre of the mural connects the themes of patriotic duty and transience. The calming balm flows past the left shoulder of the pilot, framing the Japanese flag on his uniform and continuing



**Figure 4**
*Sakura* as solace: nationalized nature as grief
*Source*: Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots



**Figure 5**
Authentic transience: dissolving into Yasukuni Shrine *sakura* and the ocean
*Source*: Eirei ni Kotaeru Kai

down to two well-flowered branches of a cherry tree. If we venture beyond the dominant reading suggested by the exhibition catalogue, the blooming *sakura* and scattering petals function as a metaphor for individual sacrifice in return for national eternity, and mark the relationship between those who govern and those who are governed.




**Figure 6**
*Sakura*: unifying the wartime family and nation
*Source*: Eirei ni Kotaeru Kai

Although individual petals have fallen from one branch, the other branch is intact and remains well-flowered.

More literally, the cherry tree branches refer to a cluster of naming and other *sakura*-centred practices. *Sakura* was the name taken by a special attack unit groups,[30] and squad name variations include: Yamazakura Tai, Mountain Sakura Corps (23 October 1944); Wakazakura Tai, Young Sakura Corps (25 October 1944); Hatsuzakura Tai, First Sakura Corps (29 October 1944); Yoshino Tai, Yoshino Corps (25 November 1944), Sakurai Tai, Sakura Well Corps (7 December 1944).[31] The character for *sakura* and flower was combined in the name of the Ōka plane which was used for special attack unit missions, and a surviving example of this plane is exhibited at Shūbudai Kinenkan.[32]

The falling *sakura* also refer to the practice documented by the Asahi Shimbun photograph of female Chiran high school students literally waving off the departing pilots with branches of blossoms.[33] Imagining how the photograph could have been composed differently locates the intended meaning of the photograph in wider socio-cultural processes. The composition of this April 1945 picture can be read as evidence of the need to present appropriately inspiring images to the wartime citizens. The cameraman shot the scene from diagonally behind these third-year female students of Chiran School, and as a result the complexity of their personal emotions of grief, gratitude and respect remain invisible to the viewer. What assumes visual prominence in this act of emotional censorship by the cameraman is the collective gesture of the students and the plane preparing to depart.

This practice of saying farewell with *sakura* is commemorated in the inscription of 'A Memorial for the Command Post', one of three memorials with the same format. The white inscription on the dark rectangular and polished stone reads:

> In accordance with the Japanese custom, the soldiers drink *shochu* (local wine) from the same cup as a traditional, solemn and sad farewell gesture. Then a soldier gets in his plane and waves his hand to inform the farewell wishers of his imminent departure. The farewell wishers are female students and village people. They wave twigs from a cherry tree whilst they watch the plane leave. A little while later they are still watching the Southern sky with swollen eyes. There are sounds of whimpering. At last one of them bursts into tears. Others follow suit and begin to cry. This is a scene which was repeated many times. It is a scene of eternal farewell.[34]




**Figure 7**
Consuming *sakura*: history as entertainment and education
*Source*: Nihon Chokuhan

**Figure 8**
*Sakura* sword hilt: lethal national aesthetic as kitsch
*Source*: Top Art

In addition to waving farewell to departing pilots with *sakura* branches, pilots sometimes inserted branches of cherry blossoms into their uniforms,[35] or officers presented the pilots with *sakura* branches when they were in the cockpit, immediately prior to take-off.[36]

When viewing 'Chiran no Sakura' (the Sakura of Chiran), a wooden sheath for a hand-made sword exhibited in the War History Room of the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots, it is difficult not be overwhelmed by a sense of how the symbolic violence underpinning the notion of nation was no abstract sociological construct for wartime residents of the Chiran community who saw boys arrive and depart.

In Figure 4 there is a melancholic contrast between the full *sakura* and the empty stone lanterns of the road leading into Chiran's Tokkō Heiwa Kannon Dō. Those who survived the war and the visitors born in the post-war period who visit the site during spring may gradually come to accept the argument for inevitable sacrifice made by this highly politicized version of nature. Feeling the vernal surge of vitality that accompanies the annual appearance of the *sakura* and recognizing the inevitability of their fall is an act of social memory along the lines of nationalist dogma. This springtime mourning is a participation in a



雄魂永劫に榮あれ

秋深む岡崎原頭
英靈に捧ぐ盛典
畏し、久邇宮殿下の御親拜仰ぎ
けふ京都招魂の大祭

京都招魂祭

村長さん萬引
町村長會議のついでに

あすぞ展く豪華版
北野の大獻茶會
雅筵五十・集ふ二千餘名

空前の盛儀

煙草屋娘相手に
青年の求婚行脚
金一封添へ艶書呈上

保險金欲しさから

今度は女店員

**Figure 9**

Seasonal discourse synchronizes war-dead memorial rites with the 1936 Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu Kinen Ōkenchakai. *Source*: *Kyōto Shimbun*, 8 October 1936

mediated recreation of the Shōwa psyche of young *tokkōtai* special attack unit members. It is precisely this aestheticizing of patriotic death that this installation was designed to evoke and commemorate.

As with any text, the intention of the creators is subject to all manner of unintended interpretations. While a nationalized discourse of the seasons valorizes spring as the most 'authentic' time to visit this sacred site and memorial practices favour mid-summer, a winter visit would not be rewarded with a fragrant softening of grief's sting. Even in the relatively mild winters of Kagoshima, the effect would be more of the hollowness of patriotic claims to protect the homeland with hopeless sacrifices.

Given the presence of peace in the name of the museum, it can be argued that this critical reassessment of the national narrative is deliberately cautious and intentionally ambiguous: 'This peace museum has

been built to commemorate the pilots and expose the tragic loss of their lives so that we may understand the need for everlasting peace and ensure such incidents are never repeated. That is now our responsibility.'[37] The choice of the verb *expose*, rather than a more neutral selection, for example 'record', suggests a move towards an acknowledgment that wartime leadership in its imperial, military and political configurations did exploit the sincerity of those who were led.

The experience of visiting the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots with my father, who was a member of Australian forces stationed on the Kokoda Trail in Papua New Guinea fighting against Japanese forces in the Second World War, witnessing the fervour of some volunteer guides and noting the reaction of other museum visitors to our presence did alert me to the complexity of that museum's mission as 'part of a wider plan for eternal world peace'.[38] A fundamental incompatibility with patriotic interpretations of history and pacifist sentiments defeats the stated purpose of the institution.[39]

The current practice of merely presenting these final letters by young Japanese males as evidence of youthful sincerity, self-sacrifice and national duty does not expose this tragic configuration of desire and agency that was a necessary condition for the *tokkōtai* phenomenon of kamikaze attacks. If the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots is to educate its patrons about the dangerous complexities of identifying with the category of nation, a reading of those texts that takes into account the circumstances of their production should be provided. Routine censorship was compounded by the police punishment of offenders, their family and associates. Consider the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots display of the final calligraphy of Fukuoka youth Shibamoto Katsumi who flew out from Chiran on 3 April 1945:

> Waratte chirō. Kuroda bushi to wa, ore no koto.
> (Scatter [die] laughing. What is a Kuroda warrior? That is me.)

Strategies such as the heroic pose of a retreat into feudal history of a Fukuoka governed by the Kuroda clan are calculated to cause no trouble for surviving relatives. The decision not to embrace the cult of the Emperor in one's final calligraphy can be read as an act of resistance and a rejection of the imperative to reinforce official narratives.

As an example of how to avoid overtly simplistic readings of these

kinds of texts, the 'my country, right or wrong' readings that appear to be the preferred mode of interpretation suggested by some volunteer guides at Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots, the scholarship of Ohnuki-Tierney is invaluable. Ohnuki-Tierney does more than merely record the articulate resistance of these so-called student soldiers, some of whom were literate consumers of 'alien' novels and philosophy in their original languages of French, German, English and Russian.[40] Ohnuki-Tierney refers to primary sources to document the 'brutal corporal punishment, not only of the individual … but of the entire group'[41] of young squad members. Older officers who never volunteered for these hopeless missions assaulted their young charges. Ohnuki-Tierney identifies these torturous practices that occasionally resulted in death as a significant influence on the content of the genre of final calligraphy.

Based on two days of observation in early June 2004, my impression was that these sorts of complexities, which raise troubling questions about the utility of the category of the nation, were missing from institutional and volunteer accounts. If the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots aspires to 'ensure such incidents are never repeated', the whole exhibition needs to be reconfigured in a way that addresses more attention to the bitter realities of the *tokkōtai* phenomenon: this was a systematically brutal operation that powerful people in positions of military responsibility forced on those that were weaker than themselves.[42] Currently the exhibits encourage patriotic feelings and the notion of nation as a lethal category is not examined.[43]

One month before Prime Minister Mori made his problematic 'divine nation' remarks in May 2000,[44] a calendar used the *sakura* of Yasukuni Shrine. Those cherry blossoms appeared in a photomontage with a sculpture of a *tokkōtai* pilot against the background of the sun rising over the calm ocean which was protected by pilots commemorated in the sculpture in Figure 5. The choice of the source of the *sakura* in the image is a significant reminder of the taxonomy of *tokkōtai* naming practices: '*Yasukuni* (National Shrine with thousands of cherry trees, seven corps named thus).'[45]

Figures 5 and 6 are from a calendar published by Eirei ni Kotaeru Kai, the Group Answering the Spirits of the War Dead. Extrapolating from Tsurumi's rendering of *eirei* supplies something slightly more fervent: the Group Answering the Splendid Spirits of the War Dead.[46]

The depth of this earnest zeal should not be underestimated, and the following extract documents the extent of the determination to protect the coherence of an ambiguous distinction between religion and state:

> On 1 June 1988, a historic 14–1 verdict of the Supreme Court of Japan, overturning the decisions of two lower courts, pronounced the termination in failure of a widow's fifteen year contest of the legality of state participation in the Shinto enshrinement of her deceased husband ... The significance of the suit brought by Mrs Nakaya Yasuko lies beyond the merely legal: the case reflects the incommensurateness of judicial capability and judicial will with the challenges she issued to Japanese militarism, to the Japanese treatment of religious minorities, and to the situation of women in Japanese society ... The elaborate denial of the religious nature of SDF activity reads as a peculiar transmutation into legal terms of a post-war version of Shinto as not so much religion but folk custom. One might fairly ask, what's the difference? Rather than argue the distinction, it is important to point out its usefulness as a strategy for dismissing quibbles over the relationship of state and religion. The 'new form' demonstrated by Mr Nakasone at Yasukuni (flowers and one bow) is a striking example. For all its contortions, the Supreme Court decision is a revealing confirmation of the social and political truisms of contemporary Japan: don't be different; don't waste energy fighting in the courts against political strategies masquerading as common sense; understand that the religion of Japan is Japaneseness, which is best practised in daily life. Cultivated to the point of invisibility by daily practice, this religion is resistant to challenge even in its more concentrated, obtrusive forms as manifested at Yasukuni or the Defence-of-the-Nation Shrines [where Nakaya Takafumi, other Japanese soldiers and Korean conscripts are forcibly deified].[47]

Nearly two decades later, the page one headline 'Court rejects Yasukuni lawsuit: Ruling sidesteps whether shrine visits are constitutional' suggests little has changed.[48] The 1988 failure of one Japanese Christian woman to resist the veneration of her husband in the edifice of the nation reveals a persistence in the state-centred view of the Japanese world that made the special attack units, and the imagery of Figures 5 and 6, not only possible but necessary.

As Figure 6 shows, the March-April page of this Heisei 12 calendar also paired a photograph of a twenty-four-year-old pilot who died a seasonally authentic death in early April 1945, with a photograph of

his military issue hat (a sacramentalizing of relics, similar to the treatment given Rikyū's tea utensils but valued by the market quite differently). These images were combined with a block of text detailing his final conversation with his family. The *sakura* motif is abstractedly repeated behind the text as a pink moiré. The dissolve of the pilot, *sakura* and the ocean may be read as a persuasive argument for the essential unity of Japanese society and Japanese nature.

Considering how ' "the attack spirit", "confidence in certain victory", "loyalty to the emperor", "love of country", "absolute sincerity", and "sacrifice one's life to the country, absolute obedience to superiors"' were instilled by the Infantry Manual of 1909, the Army Education Regulation of 1913 and the Field Regulations of 1916,[49] this visual dissolve also refers to the wartime discourse of the Japanese spirit triumphing over material superiority of the Allied forces. The date of the death of the pilot is significant. Selected from among more than a thousand young men who departed on missions, he is assigned a representative status because he died while *sakura* petals were still falling.

Figures 7 and 8 verify the extent to which this aestheticized death has become part of the commodification of the nation. Figure 7 is an advertisement for a video series that records the battles of young Japanese. It is a repackaging of twelve film texts from 1940 to 1972, and this includes both colour and black and white documentaries and feature films. *Sakura* appear twice in Figure 7. In the bottom left corner, the following text is superimposed on an image of a naval ship and planes in formation: '*Kisama mo ore mo waratte shinō. Dōse chiru nara sakura no shiku.*' (You too, me too, let's die laughing. Anyway if we scatter, we are equal to *sakura*.) Superimposed over the close-up of a soldier saluting in film number 3 is the following text: '*Sakura to ikari no sei shun fu*' (the youth music of *sakura* and anchor). This newspaper advertisement represents the nation as a masculine, martial force; the absence of women is reinforced by the body copy proclaiming 'A record of the men who battled on to the limits of life'. The theme of the advertisement is identified by the visually dominant element of the central panel: the three characters for land and naval forces visually dwarf and thematically unify the eighteen images of land, air and sea servicemen.

Given this chapter's earlier concern with *seppuku*, it seems appro-

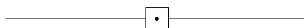
priate that a sword with a *sakura* bark hilt and sheath is the final image examined before linking these figures with a reading of Kumai's film. Figure 8 suggests that the embrace of transience is a marketable option, even at the lower-priced kitsch end of the market. The advertisement's ambiguous positioning of the impressions created by this sword and the repeated claims of the sword's beauty in the body copy assume the most coherence in the light of Sakai's definition of Japan as a community of unnatural death. Even the surname of the craftsman, Sakurai, *sakura* + well, seems made-to-order because it brings to mind the selective interpretation of history implied by the reference to the special attack Sakurai Corps and Kusunoki Masashige: fighting for the emperor, and parting with his son.[50]

*Conclusion*

While acknowledging that *sakura* have symbolized both peace and war,[51] this brief survey demonstrates that the persistence of this ideological aestheticizing of the nation in pop culture texts of the late 1990s continues to provide an important context for film reception. Analysis of the role of film texts in forming individual subjectivities and national identities is an integral part of critical communication studies. Conceptualizing Kumai Kei's *Sen no Rikyū: Honkakubō Ibun* as a villain film suggests the need for a vigilant distance from the various pleasures of viewing national cinema. The intersection of tea and *sakura* in a historical drama draws attention to the power of a distinctive national culture to appeal to an ideal as one means of shaping desire. The film's debates about historical changes in the essence of tea also emphasize an important continuity between tea for war and tea for peace. During the Second World War in Fukuoka's Hakozaki Hachimangu Shrine, *senshō kigan kencha* were tea ceremonies performed as prayers-in-action for victory in the Pacific War.[52] This sacramental use of tea for war resembles the post-war 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea' campaign sponsored by the Urasenke school of tea in that it attempts to shape a particular subjectivity as an expression of the Japanese nation. It is important to note the colonizing aspect of tea pedagogy outside Japan results in that nation being presented as 'cultural' and this helps structure a discursive silence about imperial Japanese history.

CHAPTER 4

# JAPANESE HARMONY AS NATIONALISM: GRAND MASTER TEA FOR WAR AND PEACE



> The goal to manipulate foreign media focused on 'guiding world opinion concerning Japan', 'splitting world opinion regarding Japan and the China Incident', and 'breaking the front of unified anti-Japanese opinion'.[1]

*Introduction*

This chapter addresses the theme of tea as medium for nationalistic expression in five sections. The first section outlines the 1937 proposal of an official belief in Japaneseness as a divine entity characterized by a sacred martial spirit. Attention is drawn to the internal contradiction of endorsing this sacred martial spirit as an essential Japanese trait when the harmonious administration of Japan is also praised. The second section takes this domestic tension between conflicting sets of idealized values and examines propaganda aimed at deceiving foreign governments. Tea is one element of the state-sponsored campaign to use international tourism to systematically negate worldwide criticism of December 1937 atrocities committed by Japanese in Nanjing.

These first two sections assume that tea operates as cultural nationalism inside the discourse of state nationalism. Cultural nationalism

can be a merely descriptive term that outlines how leisure practices operate as a type of chauvinism within state borders. For example, a belief in the superiority of the performance of cultural activities by Japanese people inside Japan can be a form of cultural nationalism. However, our interest is in the more normative forms of cultural nationalism that use leisure activities as a means of bringing citizens into networks of support for the Pacific War effort. When the ideal of a distinctive national culture appeals to the Japanese state as the central and definitive authority, that political entity functions as both the source of legitimizing power and the destination of desired authenticity. Once cultural practices are defined by and located within this cycle of national authority, cultural nationalism becomes state nationalism.

The third section surveys the role of tea in times of war and peace. The popular role of tea as an image that built support for a warring Japanese state is contrasted with the post-war place of tea in a global market for tea culture. The relationship between the Imperial House and the Houses of Sen is outlined in terms of the political location of tea.

Within the fourth section, several subsections document how the three hundred and fiftieth commemoration of the death of Sen no Rikyū functioned as state nationalism. As part of the national radio broadcast of the Rikyū memorial service, the grand master of Mushanokōjisenke school of tea, Sen Sōshu, concluded that Rikyū was an example of how to live and die well.[2] It is important to note grand master fluency with the nationalistic rhetoric at this celebration of the life of Rikyū. The fourteenth Urasenke grand master Sen Sōshitsu uses the *hakkō ichiu* imperialist slogan, 'the whole world under one roof', that was explicitly outlawed by the 15 December 1945 Directive for the Disestablishment of State Shintō.[3] As one event associated with the celebration of Rikyū, the 23 April 1940 evening of lectures featured grand master appreciation of commitment to the holy war by Japanese soldiers. The cultural nationalism of tea becomes state nationalism once the grand masters of tea invoke and endorse the sacred martial spirit of Japan.

The fifth section addresses the post-war role of tea in re-introducing the mythology of Japan as the land of harmony by extending the analysis of the first section.

## Kokutai no hongi*: tea as cultural nationalism*

Davis's demonstration that '[b]etween 1936 and 1941, there were strenuous efforts made to express, and define, what makes Japanese people and life so Japanese'[4] highlights how the experience of identifying with a national entity was socially constructed by government and private sector initiatives. The following survey of certain domestic and international components of this project to create modern Japanese citizens locates tea in a set of practices designed to strengthen patriotic modes of identification. After outlining here the role performed by tea as normative cultural nationalism, a later section will identify how tea operated as a mode of state nationalism by supporting the war effort.

Official government publications sought to define the Japanese national essence. The cardinal principles of the national entity of Japan are presented in *Kokutai no hongi*, published in March 1937. According to official statistics of the Ministry of Education, the initial print-run was 300,000 copies. Primary, secondary and tertiary educators from the public and private school systems were encouraged to participate in the timely dispersal of this treasured knowledge: 'This book has been compiled in view of the pressing need of the hour to clarify our national entity and to cultivate and awaken national sentiment and consciousness.'[5] The goal of this distribution strategy was to saturate the nation with an official discourse of Japaneseness. Once this definition of what made Japan Japanese became a matter of public knowledge, less than compliant Japanese individuals could be officially and informally denounced as being less-than-ideal citizens, *hi kokumin-teki*.

The publication details of the various versions of *Kokutai no hongi* convey the intensity of this policy to use educational structures to disseminate an orthodox understanding of Japaneseness. However, it is also important to note the cooperation of the private sector in this government initiative to distribute an official definition of what constitutes authentic Japanese identity:

> The Cabinet Printing Bureau brought out and marketed successive editions and up to March 1943, the last date for which publication figures on this book are obtainable, had sold approximately 1,900,000. In that same period 28,300 reprints by private presses had been sold and approximately 51,200 reproductions of the *Kokutai no hongi* had appeared in other books.[6]

In addition to the wholesale reproduction of *Kokutai no hongi*, selected extracts were included in secondary and lower tertiary textbooks and reading materials. All university presidents, principals of higher secondary schools and prefectural governors received a directive from the Vice-Minister of Education, telling them to participate in the propagation of this national ideology. In 1937, the Ministry of Education was responsible for overseeing thought control activities: 'both punitive action against persons with thoughts considered officially undesirable, and the creation and dissemination of propaganda for the control of student thought. The *Kokutai no hongi* is a product of the Bureau of Educational Reform, which was charged with thought control.'[7]

*Kokutai no hongi* presents an overview of the national entity of Japan and how that national entity manifests itself in history. The founding of the nation is framed by references to the earliest legends recorded in the *Kojiki* (a written compilation from the oral tradition, ca. 712) and *Nihon-shoki* (compiled in 720), thereby reinforcing a Japanese belief in their unbroken imperial line. The sacred virtues of the Emperor unite religious rites, administration and education.

*Kokutai no hongi* informs citizens that the nation is administered by an imperial love for the people. The 'Way of the Subjects' is defined as loyalty, patriotism and filial piety: 'loyalty and filial piety as one is the flower of our national entity'.[8] *Kokutai no hongi* uses this natural metaphor of transience to argue that loyalty to the Emperor and respect for one's parents are one and the same thing, the highest expression of Japaneseness. Harmony between god and man, harmony between man and nature, and mutual harmony among Japanese citizens are the foundation of a relationship between harmony and truth. The martial spirit is an integral part of this Japanese harmony, and the sovereign and his subjects are united in one somewhat vaguely defined truth.

The unbroken Japanese spirit that runs through history is an imperial story of emperors in the Land of the Gods. Tales of imperial reverence for earthly and heavenly divinities, and the reforms and restorations of various eras precede an account of popular worship of the imperial throne during the Edo period (1603–1868) and the relevant details of the Meiji Restoration.

Reading this 'Japaneseness textbook' more closely identifies the one

truth that united the sovereign and his subjects. Given the rhetorical importance attributed to harmony in the tea-room, it is interesting to note the presence of the martial spirit and *bushidō*, the way of the warrior, in passages that speak of Japan as a unique nation built on the harmony of all things. Underpinning these assertions of war as an agent of peace is the conviction that the Japanese national identity is a sacrament:

> But this martial spirit is not [a thing that exists] for the sake of itself but for the sake of peace, and is what may be called a sacred martial spirit. Our martial spirit does not have for its objective the killing of men, but the giving of life to men … War, in this sense, is not by any means intended for the destruction, overpowering, or subjugation of others; and it should be a thing for the bringing about of great harmony, that is, peace, doing the work of creation by following the Way.[9]

According to *Kokutai no hongi*, the history of this sacred martial spirit includes the exercise of imperial power that, in the third century, ordered the dispatch of an expedition to the Korean peninsular, as well as the conquest of the indigenous people of Kyūshū, the Kumaso, that commenced in the eighth century. More recently, the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), the Russo-Japanese War (1904), the Japanese colonization of Korea by Japan, and the establishment of the puppet government of Manchukuo are 'expressions of the great august Will … [engaged] in the promoting of the peace of the country and the advancement of the great task of love for the people, thus radiating the grace of the Imperial Throne'.[10] Uniting this Land of Peace is the tradition of warfare overseen by imperial edicts: '*Bushidō* … became the Way of loyalty and patriotism, and has evolved before us as the spirit of the Imperial Forces.'[11] This sacred martial spirit was sustained by the national morality. At the core of those moral convictions is one constantly patriotic value: 'According to our history, the spirit of loyalty always runs through the hearts of the people.'[12]

The 1937 lesson taught to Japanese citizens by this Japaneseness textbook is part of a wartime agenda: 'The only reason for his existence is that he may play the role of an unimportant part in the all-important whole of Japanese national existence.'[13] The inevitability of national identity is a claim advanced by *Kokutai no hongi*, implying that there is no escape from the sacred logic that unites nation and

nature with the imperial duties of Japanese citizens: 'In the way we are born, from the time we are born, … we by nature serve the Emperor and walk the Way of the Empire.'[14]

Representations of nature and idealized presentations of self are elements of this creation of the existential harmony of Japanese national identity. Japan has a documented history of earthquakes, floods and famines, and *Kokutai no hongi* records how the Emperor 'poured out his great august heart in giving relief in times of natural calamities'.[15] However, the ideology of Japanese concord apparently demands that Japanese citizens forget their powerlessness in the face of furious natural forces: 'Clashes with nature such as are found in Western mythologies do not appear in our legends … It is not by mere chance that Yamato [a synonym for Japan] has been written in Chinese characters, "Great Harmony".'[16]

Harmony can be a coercive logic, a demand that citizens forgo the luxuries of daily comforts. These denials of individual desire then become an austere worship of the spirit of the nation. Individual citizens should be grateful for the opportunity of these collective performances offered in the name of the national good. The desire to associate the national essence of a warring nation with harmony is evident in the *Kokutai no hongi* suggestion that warriors 'in ordinary times … should … strive to be sensitive to the frailty of Nature'.[17] In the context of this survey of the martial history of Japan in the section entitled 'Bushidō', *Kokutai no hongi* does not define what constitutes 'ordinary' routines. However, invoking a delicate appreciation of natural rhythms contains a faint echo of our earlier discussion of Genji as a sensitive aesthete who was used to unite citizens of an increasingly militant Japanese state around the turn of the twentieth century. Harmony, like transience, can be an oppressive force that crushes individuals.

Against this background of concerns with the sacred martial spirit of Japan as Urayasu no Kuni (Land of Peace), Yamato (Great Harmony) and Yasukuni (Peaceful Land),[18] culture and tea are discussed. Attention to the Way of Tea is preceded by numerous references throughout *Kokutai no hongi* to paraphrasing 'our nation's great Way': 'the great Way based on this national entity', 'the great Way of the deities', 'the Way of harmony', 'our fundamental Way as subjects', and 'the Way of loyalty and patriotism'.[19]

The rhetoric of these various national Ways is sustained by a logic that demands personal submission to the tradition, regardless of whether that tradition is the current political formation, the institution of education, or a set of aesthetic conventions: 'artistic pursuits should be materialized along one's personality only after one has personally found the Way by casting aside one's untoward desires and by first following the norms in keeping with tradition'.[20] Assertions of this kind that demand individual denial of one's self become the foundation for more normative forms of cultural nationalism.

The category of the Way (*dō* or *michi*) has a history with religious and literary phases. Kūkai (779–835), associated with the establishment of Shingon Buddhism, advocated the frictionless transmission of spiritual insights from master to student. Kūkai also imposed a hierarchy onto this model of direct experience across lines of status, establishing the conventional use of the metaphor of progress along the Way as an orthodox but external measure of being one's authentic self. The literary application of the Way was implemented by Fujiwara Kintō (966–1041). *Waka* poetry was evaluated using the notion of *dō*.[21]

Following the Way involved three steps:

> In the first stage (*shu*), the new practitioner astutely copies the established forms. The next stage (*ha*) involves the internalization of these models. Finally, after perhaps a lifetime of practice, in the third stage (*ri*) the practitioner is able to manifest the essence of the forms as a projection of their own self.[22]

It is important to note how transmission practices based on an idea of the Way contributed to the early twentieth-century conviction of national identity as sacrament. This acceptance of the authority of the tradition provides the adept student with an opportunity to approach the divine: 'As the notion of *michi* (*dō*) develops in the medieval age, artists are increasingly constrained by convention and orthodoxy, yet at the same time artistic accomplishment implicitly has soteriological value.'[23] Following the Way and becoming a proficient performer of that tradition promised aesthetic salvation. Once the distinctive culture of Japan had been nationalized by the fervour of government and private sector activities between 1936 and 1941, the deeper values of cultural practices, by association, gave national identity a sacred glow.

This 1937 logic of individually accepting externally-defined norms

remains a central element of early twenty-first-century tea practice. The *Kokutai no hongi* demand that the self be initially denied brings leisure activities, including tea, into the sphere of political control and coercion. The pleasures of embodying a particular cultural tradition align students with a national ideology that values the whole more highly than the individual parts comprising the officially defined spirit of the nation:

> Our national Way stands out markedly in the arts that have come down to us from of old. Poetry, music, calligraphy, painting, the incense cult, tea ceremony, flower arrangement, architecture, sculpture, industrial arts and dramas, all culminate in the Way, and find their source therein ... In a word, our culture is in its essence a manifestation of the great spirit of the founding of the Empire; and scholastic pursuits, education, artistic pursuits, etc., all spring from one and the same source ... One of the basic characteristics of our artistic pursuits is the adoption of modes based on the spirit of disinterestedness and the existence of an attitude to conform still further with nature ... The high place given to chaste refinement [*wabi*], too, is a result of a demand that through this means the Way be conformed to by forgetting oneself. The object is to enjoy squatting face to face in a narrow tea-room as if to meet for once in one's lifetime, and to enter into the flavour of a merging of personalities among master and guests, and so to arrive at a state of concord in a gathering of all classes of people with self set aside and with no idea of discrimination.[24]

According to *Kokutai no hongi*, the *wabi* aesthetic of Rikyū is an expression of the imperial project. It is interesting that the final sentence of this *Kokutai no hongi* extract recalls the 1872 Gengensai 'Chadō no gen ii' (Fundamental Principles of the Way of Tea) petition and its call for social equality across lines of economic wealth. Given our concern with how tea operates as cultural *and* state nationalism, what is more intriguing is the extent to which the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education resembles Gengensai's petition submitted eighteen years earlier to Kyōto officials. Gengensai's petition outlined the original intent of the Way of Tea, offering tea as a moral technology that would unite the citizenry. The short-term goal of tax avoidance by the three Houses of Sen laid a foundation for tea values becoming part of the modern project of inventing the Japanese nation.

Both documents invoke the values of loyalty and filial piety.[25] The Gengensai petition argues that the 'original intent of the Way of Tea is

to instil loyalty, filial piety and the Five Constant Virtues (benevolence, sincerity, righteousness, wisdom and trust)'. The Imperial Rescript on Education proclaims that 'Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof.' The attention given to the values of loyalty and filial piety by the Gengensai petition and the Imperial Rescript are reinforced by *Kokutai no hongi*: 'Without loyalty there is no patriotism, and without patriotism there is no loyalty. All patriotism is always impregnated with the highest sentiments of loyalty, and all loyalty is always attended with the zeal of patriotism.'[26]

According to Gengensai, the Way of Tea encourages 'the unflagging fulfilment of one's allocated role in family affairs', but the Imperial Rescript is more specific: 'be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious'. The Way of Tea asks that citizens 'uphold modesty, propriety and frugality' and the Imperial Rescript implores its subjects to 'bear yourselves in modesty and moderation'. The Way of Tea promotes 'service towards the peace and well-being of the realm' but the Imperial Rescript is more expansive: 'advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth.' *Kokutai no hongi* supplies the understanding necessary to apply patriotic zeal in the form of military service in the name of peace: 'offering our lives for the sake of the Emperor does not mean so-called self-sacrifice, but the casting aside of our little selves to live under his august grace and the enhancing of the genuine life of the people of a State'.[27]

The Way of Tea wants 'to have people treat another with no distinctions of closeness or distance, wealth or poverty' and the Imperial Rescript more concisely commands subjects to 'extend your benevolence to all'. The Way of Tea looks to a belief in the blessings of the emperor-worship tradition for the sake of the future when it asks citizens to 'revere divine providence for the sake of the health and longevity of generations to come'. The Imperial Rescript expects subjects to 'pursue learning and cultivate arts, thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore … render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers'. This imperial endorsement of

the moral aspects of leisure activities supports an argument for the inherently political forces that underpinned cultural traditions in early modern Japan.

The Way of Tea was an integral part of the project of creating patriotic citizens between 1936 and 1941. The rhetoric that continues to support tea-room harmony drew on Pacific War patterns of speaking patriotically about the warring nation. Modes of tea instruction and attitudes to the authority of the tradition had political implications that operated to define authentic Japaneseness during wartime.

The 1872 Gengensai petition anticipated moral values that would later be of central importance in defining an officially-acceptable notion of Japaneseness. The Gengensai appeal to loyalty, filial piety, self-restraint, and service to family, community and the nation were then ratified in the 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education. These imperial sentiments were then the subject of bureaucratic clarification and distribution by the Bureau of Educational Reform of the Ministry of Education in 1937. In the Land of Peace, the Way of Tea was a pleasantly coercive form of patriotism.

### *Marketing militant harmony: tourism and tea*

While the Japanese national essence was being defined for domestic audiences by official government publications including *Kokutai no hongi*, government tourism initiatives were attempting to moderate international perceptions of Japan. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs oversaw the procedural responsibilities of foreign visitors, and the Ministry of Railways directed tourist campaigns that were then handled by the Japan Tourism Bureau. Following the international criticism of Japanese conduct in China from 1937 onwards, tourism became an important form of government-sponsored propaganda.

The extent to which this tourism-as-propaganda model was embraced by the tourism industry should be conveyed by this extract from a 1939 contest announcement: ‘the great task of international tourism, as one wing of this holy war, is to propagate both abroad and domestically the true image of our youthful Japan with an old history’.[28] A founding member of the Society for the Study of Media Technology shared this belief in the sacred martial spirit of Japanese identity. Arai Seiichirō wrote in the October 1941 issue of *Japanese*

*Propaganda Culture Association* that 'professional advertisers wished to help the government promote the aims of the war and at the same time "cleanse themselves", after having been steeped on the lowly work of commercial advertising … [They] wished to repackage their material in ways that would *specifically* assist in the government's project of mobilizing society for war.'[29]

The Office of International Tourism was overseen by the Ministry of Railways. Their publication of *Kokusai Kankō* from 1933 until 1939 was one forum that linked tourism, the war effort and international propaganda. The January 1938 issue featured an English language poster published by the Board of Tourist Industry, affiliated with Japanese Government Railways. An illustration of cherry blossoms in full bloom and a five-tier temple accompanied the slogan 'Changing and unchangeable Japan'. This image of seasonal transience and the immutable stability of Japanese architecture and other traditions was part of a book-and-film campaign to market Japan as an international tourist destination. Official films capturing the charms of Japanese scenery and an example of what could be done in Japan on a three-week holiday were complemented by English language publications entitled *Visit Japan* and *Japan Pictorial*. The lead article of the January 1938 issue examined how the tourist industry operates as cultural policy. The research section of the January 1938 issue included a discussion of the implications of war for international tourism.

Images of Axis leaders were one *Kokusai Kankō* contribution to the war effort. The April 1938 issue featured two photographs of visiting Italian Fascists. Under the capitalized headline 'BENEVENUTO!', a Shintō priest is leading a delegation of uniformed Italians as they exit an unnamed shrine, passing beneath the shrine gateway. The Japanese text notes the impression made on the Italian delegation by Japanese politics, society, industries, culture and military assets. The brief text concludes by speculating that the Italian-Japanese alliance opens up a world-class destiny that should continue forever, enriching national development.

The October 1938 and the January 1939 issues both featured photographs of arm-banded members of the Nazi Party. Adolf Hitler, his Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda from 1933 to 1945 Joseph Goebbels, and Hermann Esser, the author of *The Jewish World Plague* (1939) appeared in *Kokusai Kankō*.

The spectacle of international travel was conducted against this background of increasingly military alliances. The harmony of Japanese culture operated in this world view as evidence of the status of Japan as a world-class country, and as a pleasing distraction from exaggerated reports of Japanese atrocities that were distastefully worrying, both at home and abroad. Cultural tourism was accorded a strategic importance as propaganda by the government and tourism industry businesses and professionals.

The tea industry and tea-room culture were both part of the print-and-film campaign mentioned in the July 1938 issue. The column entitled *Kokusai Kankō* Office News reported that leaflets (including 'Guide to Japan', a Manchuria guide 'Visit Far East' and 'Japanese Winter') had been published in various languages. In addition to these English, Italian and Dutch leaflets, guide booklets for Tokyo and Nara, posters, Christmas cards, 1939 calendars, rail timetables and maps were distributed. In the immediate future, more attention should be paid to attracting tourists from South America, particularly Argentina, Brazil and Chile.

In anticipation of the two thousand six-hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Japanese imperial line in 1940, English, Italian, and Dutch versions of *Japan in 1940* were being published. The film *Tōkyō in 1940* was being prepared. An updated edition of the 710-page *Guide to Japan* would include more information about Korea. A three-reel film highlighting Korean and Chinese scenic attractions had been made to encourage European tourists to visit countries colonized by Japan. In 1938, a series of films that introduced the Japanese industries of silk, tea and woven fabric were also in the planning stage.

Titles under preparation in the Tourist Library series included *Japanese Nationality*, *Bushidō* and *Mount Fuji*. As part of the national euphoria leading up to the 1940 Tokyo Olympics, books dealing with Japanese martial arts of the Way of the Sword (*kendō*), the Way of the Bow (*kyūdō*) and sumo wrestling were anticipated.

As further evidence of the efforts of the magazine *Kokusai Kankō* to reinforce government policies aimed at unifying the citizenry, the back cover of the four 1938 issues of *Kokusai Kankō* carried the slogan '*kokumin seishin sōdō*'. This national unification of the sacred spirit of Japaneseness was a policy implemented by a prime ministerial decree on 9 September 1937.[30]

This mobilization of the national spirit was addressed in the January 1939 issue and the category of culture was accorded great importance. One article addressed the relationship between five thousand years of Asian culture and Japanese administration, asserting the inherent cultural superiority of Japan. This article is attributed to the Special Mayor of Beijing and the rhetoric intensifies at the conclusion: Japan is prepared to offer an unlimited quantity of casualties, but it is true that this is a sacred war waged on behalf of the Asian tribe. The following article discussed the cultural uniqueness of Japan, using numerous appeals to the Japanese spirit that recalls the tone of *Kokutai no hongi*: Japanese culture is the routine of the Yamato tribe.

It is in this context of nationalized culture that *Kokusai Kankō* introduces a range of sponsored English-language books that explain Japanese culture to foreign audiences. The synopsis of *Tea Cult of Japan* by Fukukita Yasunosuke informs Japanese readers that the English book is a simple introduction to thin and thick tea, and the seated style of serving that suits the new age. As an example of a descriptive form of cultural nationalism, the Fukukita book begins with the history of tea, and sixty-six pages of text explain how to learn tea. The book is recommended as a gentle introduction for novices and cost 50 sen. In the context of the mission of *Kokusai Kankō* to fragment anti-Japanese opinion, tea operates as cultural propaganda when the Japanese state is determined to conceal from its citizens and other nations the less-than-harmonious reality of Japanese military actions against Chinese civilians in 1937. The final entry on this catalogue page is a translated English slogan, highlighted in bold: 'Tourism is the key that unlocks industry'.

Issues of *Kokusai Kankō* regularly featured accounts by foreign visitors that emphasized the international appeal of Japan as a tourist destination. These translated articles were a useful counterpoint to Japanese reports of how to enjoy travel outside Japan. In an October 1938 article entitled 'Japan is a tourist paradise', Leonard J. Lucas records the spectacle of departing troops, noting that shouts of 'Banzai' were the only part of the proceedings that were comprehensible to foreign ears. The second to last sentence of the article says 'Japan is peaceful' and a repetition of the article title concludes the piece.

These reports of tourist correspondents were instructive for Japanese tourism operators wishing to learn how to best cater to over-

seas visitors. However, foreign assertions of the peaceful harmony of Japanese life are not innocent expressions of the grace of the Imperial Throne:

> In an effort to secure positive American opinion for its growing Asian empire, Japanese government agencies invited prominent American editors from well-known magazines such as *Harper's Bazaar*, *Traveler*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Time*, *Fortune*, and others to visit Japan, Korea and Manchuria for two months, all expenses paid.[31]

At a September 1938 meeting of government representatives, tourist industry leaders and the media, International Tourist Bureau head Den Makoto identified the urgency of educating Japanese citizens about the best ways to maximize the propaganda benefits of satisfied international guests.[32] The cultural aspects of Japanese life were at the frontline of national propaganda.

Further evidence of attempts to create more favourable impressions of Japan following the December 1937 atrocities at Nanjing include top-secret Japanese documents and American legal records. Domestic and international secrecy became a primary concern as the government sought to be the dominant opinion maker at home and abroad: 'In contrast to the Cabinet Board of Information, the two agencies most concerned with public opinion – the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Railroad Ministry – went to great lengths to conceal their hand in propaganda campaigns.'[33]

One element of the secretive strategy to contain hostile international reactions was *Behind the News in China*, written in 1938 by an American journalist Frederick Vincent Williams. These reports were recycled domestically when the *Osaka Mainichi* newspaper translated extracts from the Williams book, endorsing the conduct of Japanese soldiers in China as exemplary. Williams was convicted of conspiracy and found guilty on nine charges of violating the Foreign Agents Act in 1942: Williams had been banking funds received from 'a secret Japanese propaganda organization, the Jikyoku Iinkai, the Committee for the Current State of Affairs, also known as the Japanese Committee on Trade and Information'.[34]

Knowing that the government continued to secretly operate in the early twentieth century, and examining the activities of Japanese citizens catches some of the complexities of the so-called democratic

fascism of the interwar years. The history of Ienaga Saburō documents the extent to which political elites legislated to constrict civil liberties in early modern Japan: publishing restrictions (1869), newspaper ordinances (1873, revised 1883), limits on assembly (1880, revised 1882) and a total ban on revealing the contents of petitions to the government and the throne (1884).[35] Typically, the popular response to official control is framed in terms of resisting those legal attempts to limit certain freedoms. Barak Kushner, however, argues that from the 1880s to the 1930s the 'moral suasion' of Japanese propaganda was effective because Japanese citizens were part of the systematic process to improve the efficiency of 'the Japanese bureaucracy's effort to get Japanese to identify as citizens of a national entity'.[36]

The argument that the Japanese propaganda structure included elements that were populist, existing outside of government, has two major ramifications. First, the analysis of Kushner demonstrates one flawed American wartime conviction. Docile Japanese were not simply manipulated by propaganda that had become more effective as the colonial activities of Japan expanded: 'The agencies that actually drafted, produced and distributed Japanese wartime propaganda consisted of well-intentioned intellectuals, rural women, stage performers, police officers and other average Japanese eagerly participating in a society that wanted to support the war.'[37] Second, despite the fact that Japanese citizens were active players in the creation of propaganda, the International Military Tribunal of the Far East (more commonly known as the Tokyo War Crimes Trials) and Japanese peacetime education helped erase this responsibility:

> Post-war scholarship incorrectly labelled the wartime Japanese propaganda campaigns as artifacts of the military and government and not as products of collusion between the civilian society and its leaders ... The Tokyo Trial clearly helped establish a Japanese historical amnesia that make it possible to deny the existence of a collusive populace. Post-war education also taught that the military led the population astray; few texts mentioned mass participation in voluntary propaganda activities.[38]

Post-war appeals made by Japanese political and cultural elites to the idea of Japan as the country of harmony continue to be an act of self-representation that conceals the need to examine what has been forgotten about Japanese life during wartime.

The leisure of wartime tea is implicated in this question of the voluntary participation of a collusive population versus the coercive power of state legislation buttressed by more informal sanctions at the regional and local levels. As a social practice during the interwar years, tea functioned as an effective form of a distinctively Japanese cultural nationalism.

*Tea-room harmony: war and peace*

Autobiographical comments of the fifteenth generation Urasenke Grand Master create an impression that the 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea' campaign was the result of his considerable reflection on the nature of wartime experience.[39] It is important to acknowledge the emotional complexities of his playing a twentieth-century role equivalent to the pre-battle serving of tea by Rikyū: Sen served tea to other *tokkōtai* squad members and then waited to hear their final radio signals. Rather than merely privilege the individual subjectivity of one grand master and his fortunate escape, his comments about war can be framed by examining tea's 1930s role in creating a sense of Japanese identity and solidarity. Grand Master XV tends not to address the institutional positioning of tea as a wartime national sacrament by Sen grand masters of his father's generation. What is important here is the nostalgic invoking of a supposedly authentic past as a means of bringing cultural practices, including tea, into a form that can be interpreted as supporting the war effort. The analysis presented here supports claims advanced in later chapters dealing with how tea is represented in Japanese film.

Despite the 1872 efforts of Gengensai to partner Senke tea instruction with a belief in the nation, the obsession with Western technology made the Meiji era (1868–1912) a difficult time for *iemoto*, grand master families. Family businesses that transmitted distinctive cultural practices struggled financially as the category of tradition fell from favour amongst progressive elites. However tea was rehabilitated 'when Japan's successive victories in the Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War enshrined nationalism'.[40] Although tea generally benefited from its categorical status as tradition, the authority of the *iemoto* system was not regarded as absolute by the economically dominant practitioners of *sukisha cha*.[41] The *sukisha* tea men were directing

the financial, trading and technological services that were driving Japan's modernization. These industry leaders preferred to trust their own eyes and sense of tea style, rather than be told what was acceptable tea taste, as they amassed extensive utensil collections and held impressively scaled tea gatherings in the early twentieth century.

Kumakura plots the re-emergence of the *iemoto* system with two large public gatherings which were held during the period when the cashed-up industrialists who were the major practitioners of *sukisha cha* all died: the Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu (8–12 October 1936) commemorating the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the 1587 Kitano Ōchanoyu; and the Rikyū 350 Nenki Ōchakai (21–23 April 1940) commemorating the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Rikyū's death in 1591.[42]

While it is convenient to assert that the original Kitano Ōchanoyu was the national convention of *wabi* cha,[43] it is important to remember the extent to which that sixteenth-century event was redolent with the exercise of power by Hideyoshi. Sixteenth-century participants were treated to an exhibition of masterpieces with provenances associated with the Ashikaga shogun and historically significant tea practitioners. The 1587 Kitano gathering was ostensibly a display of cultural authority but the array of wares also included pieces confiscated or 'donated' as Hideyoshi had unified the provinces by using tea as a persuasive supplement to naked military might. Representing the event as egalitarian requires reading Hideyoshi's order as an invitation, and reproduces tea's image of itself as a purely aesthetic practice devoid of political and commercial concerns: 'All serious Japanese practitioners of *chanoyu* – warriors, attendants, townspeople, farmers and men of lower classes – as well as people on the continent were invited to attend and participate.'[44] Hideyoshi's coercive use of tea included compulsory attendance for all tea practitioners and bans on the private preparation of tea by those who failed to attend.

The discourse of the nation was the dominant frame that positioned the three hundred and fiftieth anniversaries of the Kitano Ōchanoyu in 1936 and Rikyū's death in 1940. Regardless of the private sentiments of individual participants, reports of the gathering of four thousand people in the 1936 event which took the name of the Shōwa Emperor were received in the dominant tone of the day. Mass media texts were officially manipulated to express the sacramental Japanese identity: 'By

the late 1930s news and advertising represented national ideology and patriotic rationale. Information could not exist on a neutral plane but had to project an image that the state wanted transmitted to the people.'[45]

Given the scale of 'the large public chaseki Tenshōsha, [in which] more than twelve thousand sweets were served',[46] it is extremely unlikely that the event could have been ideologically separated from the Shōwa mood of jingoistic celebration. Honouring the national convention of *wabi cha* became part of an ultranational didactic trope that was concerned with the transmission of *bushidō* values to all Japanese men, women and children.

The existence of historical practices such as *seppuku* was a useful precedent that could justify the naval and air force special attack squads, of which the fifteenth Urasenke Grand Master was a member. Preliminary reports of the gathering of 5,000 people in three days may construct the 1940 event as no more than the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Rikyū's death. However, in the same way that the 1930s popularity of Okakura's argument for Asian unity 'within an art historical context … when Japan began to move towards the "Great East-Asian Co-Prosperity"'[47] assumed a political dimension, the wartime commemoration of Rikyū's *seppuku* gave militarists an ideological text that could be appropriated to justify the divine right of Japan to unify East Asia. The Japanese state had the authority to demand the ultimate sacrifice from its citizens.

Rikyū was no longer merely a historical man of tea conjured in anecdotes, a legendary embodiment of tea values and a set of aesthetic preferences present in Meiji era tea-rooms, Taishō era *sukisha* displays, and Shōwa era grand tea gatherings. Outside tea-rooms, Rikyū had an early modern mission. The legacy of Rikyū tea values was to be subsumed into the larger narrative of the nation. Three hundred and fifty years after his death, this transitive Rikyū-ness helped shape Japanese self-fashioning.

The mechanics of an aesthetic death in the name of the nation suggests a similarity between Rikyū's resoluteness towards his own death and the sacrifice demanded of wartime Japanese citizens. Through legislation of daily life, the imperial Japanese state attempted to restructure individual will in such a way as to present personal annihilation as the means of being incorporated into the eternity of the Japanese nation:

> There is no doubt that, during the fifteen-year war (1931–45), 'dissolving into the whole' immediately suggested the physical erasure of the self or *kyoshi*, which could mean one's own death. The slogan *ichioku gyokusai* or 'the total suicidal death of one hundred million,' another version of 'the final solution,' was propagated all over Japanese territories towards the end of the Second World War, and, in view of the manner in which Watsuji conceptualized authenticity in his ethics, it was no coincidence that the final moment of the total suicidal death was imagined as the aesthetic experience of ultimate communion. Death was appropriated into an experience in which one dissolved and got integrated into the body of the nation: death was transformed into the imagined experience of togetherness and camaraderie; the resoluteness towards one's own death was translated into the resoluteness towards identification with the totality. Death was consequently aestheticized so that it could mediate and assimilate one's personal identity into national identity. Finally, the nation was turned into the community of destiny (*unmei kyōdōtai*) towards death. To use Watsuji's vocabulary, absolute negativity equals absolute totality and was internalized into the finite totality of the nation-state. In this sense, the absolute totality lost its transcendence and infinity and became 'expressible'. Watsuji's ethics of *nakayoshi* (being on good terms) transformed itself into the ethics of *ichioku gyokusai* (the total suicidal death of one hundred million).[48]

Sakai's reading of the collapse of Watsuji's ethics of good companionship into a nationalized aesthetic death of *ichioku gyokusai* implies that the current 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea' global campaign repositions the sorts of coercive discourses of the nation that reigned during the early Shōwa period. Tea-room camaraderie, with its vicarious participation in questions surrounding Rikyū's death, points towards the dangers of embracing the nation's lethal caress.

Tea's cherishing of the wartime instant became indistinguishable from Tōjō's military regulations that demanded individual sacrifice in the name of the nation. Kumakura is not silent on the question of whether patriotic sentiment fuelled tea's popularity around the time of the two great tea gatherings.[49] The Senke schools of tea had been courting political forms of national authority since Gengensai presented tea as the moral custodian of traditional Japanese values. An additional achievement of Gengensai was to ensure tea's ongoing presence in the cultural life of the nation by positioning tea as a sacrament, a performance guided by a divine grammar.

Converting the Sen family business of tea marketing into a sacra-

ment had two elements. First, Senke tea schools benefitted from a more intimate relationship with the divinity of the imperial household. Serving tea to the Emperor and marrying into the Imperial Family have assisted the Houses of Sen as they advanced the status of tea as the embodiment of a national spirit. Second, the public performance of tea dedicated to the gods of Shintō shrines and the spirits of Buddhist temples increased the public understanding that tea itself was a sacrosanct performance of Japaneseness.

When Gengensai served the Emperor tea in 1866, he commemorated that honour by performing a new serving procedure. This insistent mapping of tea onto an imperial narrative had not been achieved since the time of Rikyū.

Decades of the repetition of those performances where *kencha* tea was dedicated to shrine deities aligned tea with a theological nationalism. It was the legacy of Gengensai that by the time of the two great tea gatherings, the Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu Kinen Ōchakai (8–12 October 1936) and the Rikyū 350 Nenki Ōchakai (21–23 April 1940), tea was a divine practice, justified by a patriotic fervour. Both of these events featured the performance of sacramental tea, *kencha*.[50] During the Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu Kinen Ōchakai, Sen Sōsa offered *kencha* tea to an altar of Kitano Shrine. For the Rikyū 350 Nenki Ōchakai, at Daitokuji Temple the *kucha* tea ceremony featured the three Senke grand masters offering incense (Sen Sōshu), preparing thick tea (Sen Sōsa) and thin tea (Sen Sōshitsu), and performing the charcoal procedure (Sen Sōshu).

Given the number of participants at these two great tea gatherings, magnified by newspaper and thematically related radio coverage, and considering the government regulation of the cultural sphere through Dai-Nippon Bungaku Hōkokukai (Japanese Literature Patriotic Association) and the Dai-Nippon Genron Hōkokukai (Japanese Journalism Patriotic Association),[51] it can be argued that tea had become a significant player in the 'exploration, formulation and emphasis of a nation's identity [and the] creation, maintenance and enhancement of solidarity among members of a nation.'[52] This popular consumption of the ultranationalist sacrament of tea and the reporting practices of the newspapers of the day helped consolidate the connection between a distinctive national culture and war as an inevitable expression of those values.

On page two of the 8 October 1936 edition of the *Kyōto Shinbun* a report of the ceremony commemorating military deaths is placed immediately above an account of the forthcoming Shōwa Kitano Ōchakai (Figure 9). The thematic connection of the invocation of the spirits of fallen soldiers and this celebration of tea as patriotic culture is textually and visually reinforced. Both articles border a photograph, powerfully composed to feature two Japanese flags. The thematic and visual unity of this page is an example of news 'informing the people about the national will'.[53]

Tea's seasonal discourse provides a reference to those who died in the Manchurian invasion. The first two lines of the headline read 'As autumn deepens at Okazaki Gentō: Services offered to the Glorious Spirits', and the third line refers to the presence at the gathering of a member of the imperial household. This headline confirms that tea was sustained by the joy of appreciating seasonal change, and buttressed by two forms of authority that assumed the divinity of Japanese identity. An accepting understanding that military demands on families were legitimate in a time of colonial expansion was compounded by a distant respect for the emperor-god.

The visual dominance of the photograph of the cavalry parade with crossed flags points to the omnipresence of patriotic sentiments in Shōwa daily life. The thematic power of this visual element underlines the problematic nature of conceptualizing a retreat into the nostalgic innocence of culture. The resistance of the intelligentsia to the oppressive shaping of daily life by nationalist policies became just another leaf, tossed by the fury of a kamikaze gale.

The central dilemma posed to these resistant acts of withdrawing from the atmosphere of jingoistic pride was how to maintain the integrity of culture as a neutral territory when individual autonomy was increasingly subject to state intervention. 'Once created, this imaginary space, increasingly absorbed by the interests of the state, might be filled with any aesthetic, ethical, or spiritual values implied by the term "culture".'[54] Traditional leisure activities held out the promise of a retreat from state intervention but there was little chance to escape from the jingoistic joys and excesses of imperial Japan.

*Rikyū in 1940: tea as state nationalism*

Reading the volume published in 1940 to commemorate the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Sen no Rikyū's death by his own hand conveys the depth of conviction and material capital the three Senke schools invested in this historic event.[55] Removing the book from its light brown cardboard slipcase reveals the cover design. Against a dark blue background, the lightness of the *ume* plum design associated with Rikyū contrasts with the actual weight of the book.[56] The first 221 pages of the book largely feature the masterpiece utensils used in the nine Daitokuji tea venues from 22–24 April 1940. These photographs record evidence of high tea taste, validated by the grand master ciphers written on individual pieces of tea ware and the *iemoto* inscriptions on the utensil boxes. These images are accompanied by typeset *kaiki*, those formulaic records of the *toriawase* combination of utensils in each tea-room.

Nine pages of contents are preceded by six images. Each full-page photograph is protected by a page of transparent paper. The first plate is the well-known portrait of Rikyū from the Omotesenke collection, and the second photograph features the stone monument celebrating Rikyū at Jukōin Temple. The third image is the calligraphy of a Daitokuji Temple senior priest, commemorating the occasion of the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Rikyū's death. A simplified replica of this calligraphy is also partially visible in several photographs that follow the contents section. Unlike the following three examples of *iemoto* calligraphy that present one single character and the respective cipher, the priest has written a central passage of twenty-eight characters that are then authenticated by his formal stamp. The fourth plate features the calligraphy of Sen Sōsa and the single character for power appears to sinuously float above the cipher of the Omotesenke grand master. The fifth plate presents the calligraphy of the Urasenke Grand Master, and features the single character for embrace, drawn by the Sen Sōshitsu. Hope is the single character that is accompanied by the cipher of Mushanokōjisenke grand master, Sen Sōshu, in the sixth plate. These three examples of *iemoto* calligraphy reiterate the final three characters of the passage written by the Daitokuji Temple senior priest Ōda; these three characters appear in Rikyū's death poem.[57]

Following the contents are eight pages of photographs. In contrast to the first set of images, these photograph pages are not protected by

pages of transparent paper. The first and largest image is of the altar dedicated to Rikyū. The staging of the altar draws attention to the hanging scroll image of Rikyū, and a simplified replica of the calligraphy of the Daitokuji Temple senior priest is partially obscured by a floral arrangement on the right hand side of the photograph. The second plate shows the formal black *daisu* tea stand, ready for the commemorative *kucha* tea service to begin. The perspective is the aspect that would be seen by someone serving tea, although the camera is further away from the *daisu* tea stand. Two matching bowls with wooden lids are placed on wooden *tenmoku dai* serving trays, and two plain black lacquer *natsume* tea containers are placed on the top shelf of the *daisu* tea stand. These *natsume* tea containers are not in their silk *shifuku* covers. The bottom shelf features the typical set of bronze utensils used to serve tea with the *daisu* tea stand. In contrast to the plain black lacquer of the top *daisu* shelf, the bottom shelf and the four legs have a colourful surface treatment. A plain wooden board that runs the width of the *daisu* stand is placed flush against the bottom shelf.

The camera has moved to the left for the third plate. The Omotesenke grand master, Sen Sōsa, is performing the thick tea serving procedure using the darker bowl that was on the right hand side of the *daisu* tea stand. The *kan* lugs of the brazier are in the up position, and Sen Sōsa is handling the silk *fukusa* purifying cloth in the formal 'four-directions' manner. Placed on the top shelf is a silk *shifuku* cover typically used for thick tea containers.

For the fourth and fifth images, the camera is in a position similar to that of the third plate. The Urasenke grand master Sen Sōshitsu is performing the thin tea-serving procedure using the lighter bowl that was on the left-hand side of the *daisu* tea stand. The *kan* lugs of the brazier are in the up position. Two silk *shifuku* covers are placed on the top shelf of the *daisu* tea-stand.

The fifth image shows the Mushanokōjisenke grand master, Sen Sōshu, performing the charcoal procedure. Both bowls have been returned to their original position on the top shelf of the *daisu* tea-stand. The *kan* lugs of the brazier are in the down position.

The sixth image shows the three grand masters sitting one mat length away from the *daisu* tea-stand as the memorial service proceeds

In contrast to the first six images that were presented one to a page, the final two images occupy one page. Rikyū and his grand master rep-

resentatives are accorded the honour of one image per page. The seventh photograph is a crowd shot taken from behind the three grand masters during the memorial service. The eighth image shows rows of office-bearers sitting in the formal seating position. Tea practitioners are more than ten rows deep, with several rows of people standing behind them. Both of these images convey the disciplined attention of tea practitioners.

The materiality of this 1940 book is important evidence of the power of the Sen schools. Even during wartime, the figure of Sen no Rikyū retains enough symbolic capital to rally economic, political and cultural capital necessary to fund the lush production of this slip-cased book. This volume showcases the best of authentic Senke tea taste and the layout of the photographs reflects the hierarchy of authority overseen by the three Senke schools. The production values of this book that went on sale on 25 December 1940 are also a statement of the strategic importance of the cultural sphere in unifying a mobilized national pride. Tea practitioners and researchers are grateful that copies of this book survived the war.

The book is also important because it records the details of commemorative lectures that were held on the evening of 23 April 1940 and the national radio broadcast of a portion of the Rikyū memorial service on 21 April 1940. The tale of Rikyū is conventionally associated with tradition and aesthetic provenance. However, this 1940 publication documents how these timeworn categories of pleasure were co-opted into the narrative of nation, empire and technological advances. In contrast to the role of tea as cultural nationalism in *Kokutai no hongi* and the deployment of tea in the tourism-as-propaganda mode of international public relations after the Nanjing massacre, the three Senke tea schools function as state nationalism as they commemorate the *seppuku* death of Rikyū. Despite the book containing short essays written by the Senke *iemoto* in which they acknowledge imperial and military forms of authority, tea writings in English have given little attention to this historically significant volume.

The first half of the book is an encyclopaedic cataloguing of the tea utensils used in the nine Daitokuji Temple tea-rooms. With this publication, the collection of tea utensils curated by the Senke schools of tea for the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Rikyū

have been used to write the three Senke into the grammar of tea history.

Matsudaira Fumai established the category of famous objects with his 1787 publication *Kokon meibutsu ruijū* (Various Collected Famous Objects from All Ages). The Matsudaira taxonomy included utensils ranked as *ōmeibutsu* (great famous objects), *meibutsu*, and *chūkō meibutsu* (seventeenth-century famous objects, often associated with Kobori Enshū).[58] This 1940 publication includes utensils associated with Matsudaira Fumai. The p. 97 ash receptacle called 'Hagi' made by Chōjirō has the lid authenticated by Fumai. Examples from the Matsudaira taxonomy of *ōmeibutsu* (pp. 39, 43, 177), *meibutsu* (pp. 41, 47, 173, 181, 191) and *chūkō meibutsu* (pp. 91, 151, 159, 185) were used in the eight Daitokuji tea-rooms to commemorate Rikyū. However, there is one notable addition to the hierarchy of Matsudaira: Senke *meibutsu* (pp. 27, 61, 159). The invention of the category of Senke *meibutsu* by the Houses of Sen is an interesting example of their self-promotion and legitimization. Senke *meibutsu* are not mentioned by either the 1931 writing of Takahashi Tatsuo, *Chadō Meibutsu* (Considering Famous Pieces) or the 1944 reference book compiled by Sue Sōkō, *Sadō Jiten* (Way of Tea Dictionary).[59] Although the 1940s publication of the Senke *meibutsu* category apparently did not give the term a national standing, by the mid-1980s Urasenke teachers out in the provinces qualified the Senke *meibutsu* term as appropriate for use inside the three Senke schools.

### *Tea spirit and state nationalism*

The transition from cultural nationalism to state nationalism commences with the material associated with the commemorative lecture in the second half of the book. Five photographs on three pages record the three speakers and the audience inside the two-floor auditorium. The Mushanokōjisenke *iemoto* wore kimono, Dr Fujiken wore a suit, and Dr Nimura wore kimono. Mr Yoshikawa wore a suit and his photograph was taken further away and at a lower angle from the auditorium floor. In the full-page photograph of the audience, the contrast between men in darker-toned kimono and lighter-toned suits is apparent. Regardless of whether they were wearing kimono or suits, some men held hats.

A brief review of the life and death of Rikyū mentions how he prepared tea on sixteenth-century battlefields.[60] The distinction between Rikyū's measured preparation of tea alongside the carnage of war and the patriotic leisure of wartime practitioners of *iemoto* tea becomes less clear as subjects are obliged to walk the Way of the Empire, as authorized by *Kokutai no hongi*. Early twentieth-century appeals to the calm rigour of Rikyū and the resulting expectation that patriotic citizens offer themselves to the great august will of the Emperor undermine the difference between cultural and state nationalism. As a technology of the national self, the Way of Tea advocated by Urasenke, Omotesenke and Mushanokōjisenke brings the war home: 'Japan's wartime propaganda centred on one major goal: unifying the battlefront with the home front … War propaganda cannot be separated from imperial propaganda.'[61] As the following overview of grand master activities during this anniversary of the death of Rikyū will document, walking the Way of Tea exposed citizens to the *iemoto* endorsement of tea as state nationalism. The wartime tea of Rikyū and his sixteenth-century death becomes a moral lesson for tea practitioners on the home front.

Writing after the occasion of the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Rikyū, Omotesenke *iemoto* Sen Sōsa expressed his delight at being able to attend the memorial ceremony performed once every fifty years at Daitokuji Temple in the Murasakino district of Kyōto. As the following adapted summary suggests, Sen Sōsa considered it was no accidental coincidence that the two thousand and six hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the imperial line falls in the same year as the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Rikyū.[62]

As one of the followers of the Way of Tea, blessed with the good fortune to receive the radiant national administration, Sen Sōsa expected that year to be characterized by one big expansive heart. *Wabi* is the one spirit that has united human hearts. Now in this autumn of 1940, our country and all national citizens should practise the sincerity of polishing ourselves down and offering more to the public good. We followers of the Way of Tea attribute the benefits we have gained to the inevitable results of the will of our imperial country.

The Way of Tea cannot be separated from daily life; the Way of Tea and daily life cannot be divided. The Way of Tea uses tea as a spiritual

discipline. What is necessary is the Japanese spirit that has created the Way of Tea. The Way of Tea is the path. After partaking of one bowl of tea, there is a step towards the unlimited; it must be acknowledged that the source of the spirit should be devoted to the imperial country. If that is not done, everything becomes improper.

Rikyū devised the Way of Tea and died by his own sword three hundred and fifty years ago. Even if Rikyū is dead, that heart continues to live today. After Rikyū and continuing through me, resembling warrior resolve and corresponding to the faith of the Way of Tea, that spirit continues until the present day. This warrior resolve resembles the solemn and sacred will of *bushidō*, and that is something contained in the Way of Tea of Rikyū.[63]

The comments of Sen Sōsa are followed by a short essay written by the Urasenke *iemoto* Sen Sōshitsu. He begins by thanking those whose cooperation made the three Senke commemoration of the death of Rikyū an event that was completed without any unnecessary delays. Sen Sōshitsu then intensifies the linking by Sen Sōsa of the Way of Tea of Rikyū with the Way of the Warrior. The beginning of his second paragraph uses the memorial service for Rikyū as an occasion to acknowledge the spirits of war dead. By making connections between Rikyū, the Way of Tea and the *bushidō* spirit of the Imperial Forces, the Senke *iemoto* have positioned 1940 tea culture as state nationalism.

We Japanese now, in the midst of the uncertainty of ongoing events, this morning welcomed many glorious spirits, farewelling those courageous warriors on their travels. We national citizens must harden without being absorbed while society is in the condition of being utterly strained.

As people of the Way, blessed by the legacy of Rikyū's customs which benefit us today, and receiving the honour of being born in this sacred age, we must express thanks to the Great Sovereign deep imperial grace. Now, under the blessing of the Great Emperor, the Way of our founder has expanded with the passing of years and eras. As those who transmit the Way of our founder, from the past age of Rikyū, with that shared will for the sake of improving social ethics, in our current circumstances we must exert the sincere will of our endeavours.

This year is the two thousand and six hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the imperial line. One hundred million fellow countrymen, united in auspicious delight as one, thinking as the great spirit.

To achieve the one great thought of the eight corners of the world being united under one Japanese roof, this expansive advance requires the persistence of a steadfast endurance.

The lifetime of Rikyū proclaimed the spirit of harmony (*wa*), reverence (*kei*), purity (*sei*) and tranquility (*jaku*) and the direction pointed by these values has not diminished.[64]

The short essay of Sen Sōshitsu is followed by a longer article that surveys the Way of Tea of Rikyū. Sen Sōshu returns to the sphere of merely cultural expressions of Japaneseness by writing about the tea history of Rikyū, the art of Rikyū's Way of Tea, and the tea gatherings of Rikyū.[65] The section following the Sen Sōshu essay records the Way of Tea commemorative lecture programme, and contains essays that presumably reflect the content of the various lectures.

### *Tea as state nationalism: Grand Master lectures*

On 23 April 1940, the Asahi Kaikan auditorium started filling up from 5.30 p.m., and all the seats on the first and second floors were taken. The audience contained less tea people than might have been anticipated, but more than half of the audience were students and people who appeared to be company workers. It is delightful that the interest in tea held by people from these portions of society has been recorded.

The lecture was advertised in the three Senke magazines and posters were displayed in Kyōto trams. Despite anxieties about whether a programme featuring specialist scholars might result in embarrassment for the organizing committee because of a poor turn out, looking at the capacity audience proved these fears groundless.

Seated in the front row of the auditorium first floor were the Urasenke and Omotesenke grand masters, wearing the red rose that marked their status as being central to the evening's programme. Other members of the three Senke families were present too. At 6.30 p.m. the bell rang and the curtain went up. A plain gold folding screen had been placed in front of the black backdrop. The eldest of the grand masters, Sen Sōshu, representing the three Senke, commenced the programme with his greetings: 'From today Yasukuni Shrine is holding an extraordinary festival. I think we too should all stand and offer a moment of silence to the glorious spirits of our protective country.' The audience stands, offering a moment of silence.[66]

The previous paragraphs are a translated extract from an introductory summary that runs for three pages. This translation in the previous paragraph maintains the distinction between the direct quotation of Mushanokōjisenke *iemoto* and the reported summary of 23 April 1940 events that exists in the original publication. The following paragraph contains a translated extract of the speech given by the Mushanokōjisenke *iemoto*. Presumably this is the same speech that contains the quotation given in the previous paragraph. It does appear that the introductory summary has paraphrased the speech of the Mushanokōjisenke *iemoto* and still presented that paraphrase as a quotation. It is the fact of this repetition of patriotic sentiments, rather than the more semantic questions of journalism conventions, that should be examined here. Given our interest in how the 1940 book records how grand master tea acted as an agent of state nationalism, it is important to note how the structural arrangement of the book allows for a repetition of an appeal to the sacred martial spirit of Japan.

Before introducing the first speaker, Sen Sōsa expressed his appreciation for the Imperial Forces. Sen Sōsa informed the audience that the lecture will begin shortly. If we consider what makes it possible for us today to hold this magnificent tea gathering and the Rikyū memorial service, it is the advancing path of our spirit. In the case of these extreme current affairs, the act of being able to hold events such as this lecture is entirely dependent on the Imperial Forces. Even if one bomb falls, the various dangers would at least prohibit us from gathering here. Thinking of this, our great feeling of appreciation must be dedicated to the Imperial warriors. Especially in the case of those courageous fighters who died in warfare, I have no idea of what words to offer. Given that from today the invited gods festival will be held, as a man of tea I would like to express the form of my gratitude. I would like to stand and offer sincere silence and appreciation to the spirit of the Imperial fighters. After the audience stands and the moment of silence is observed, Sen Sōsa invites Dr Fujikake Shizuya to the stage.[67]

A lecture outlining the relationship of the Muramachi era and tea was then delivered by Dr Fujikake Shizuya, Professor of Kyōto Imperial University. Although he addressed tea history from a specialist perspective, he also showed that imperial sentiments were not confined to the grand masters representing the Houses of Sen. During his lecture, Dr Fujikake made reference to members of the audience

who had travelled from Manshū to attend the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Rikyū's death.[68] This comment brings the colonial aspect of modern Japanese history into the realm of Rikyū.

Dr Fujikake continued, expressing his desire to revive the tea of Rikyū's age in the Japan of the early 1940s. There is an extremely close resemblance between the age of Rikyū and our current times. Moving from the warring states turmoil of the Sengoku era to the Muroyama period was a time when the Japanese race developed hugely. Japan of the early 1940s was poised to make a huge leap forward.

The next lecture was delivered by Dr Niimura Izuru, Emeritus Professor of Kyōto Imperial University, and dealt with the questions surrounding the death of Rikyū.

The final lecture was given by Yoshikawa Eiji, author of the 1937 *Miyamoto Musashi*. Speaking subjectively, Mr Yoshikawa outlined his tea experiences while highly praising the Way of Tea. His talk included an account of being invited aboard the battleship Mikuma. The question of where to place the *kamidana* god altar on a battleship was addressed, along with an account of how naval seamen would never fail to pray before the altar morning and evening as they thought about their hometowns. Mr Yoshikawa admitted to being incapable of comprehending the depth, height and scale of Rikyū. He then drew laughter from the audience with his self-deprecating comments about tossing a tea scoop away, once he realized that he would have to study much more to be able to write and speak about Rikyū.

Iguchi Kaisen declared the evening programme to be finished. The time was 10 p.m. and the three Senke *iemoto*, from the second floor of the hall, saw off the exiting crowd. This speedy scene, as one element of the memorial service for Rikyū, was a beautiful picture.

### *Tea for peace*

To return to the question of the shift from tea for war to tea for peace, this vision of tea's post-war utility is more than the private insight of one individual grand master. This apparent reversal of position, from tea as a jingoistic instrument of the militarist state, to tea as the beverage of choice among pacifist internationalists, is consistent with the strategy adopted by Gengensai in his 1872 government petition: position tea as the expression of the nation.

Shimizu Ikutarō observed in 1950 that pre-war patriotism was unconnected to democracy, and argued that 'the world-historical transformation that occurred after the war, caused by the advent of nuclear weapons, called urgently for the 'completion of democracy'. Therefore, 'peace' and 'democracy' had to be intimately connected to any rebirth of patriotism that might occur in post-war Japan.'[69] While tea profited from its representation as the embodiment of Japanese material culture during the early Shōwa period, Shimizu's analysis suggests that the post-war shift from a nationalist rhetoric to the possibility of a global market for tea knowledge, utensils and practices was something approaching a political necessity.

The 1973 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea' campaign was an act of cultural nationalism that acted as a salve for the national post-war psyche of rapid Japanese economic growth.[70] Having tea present Japaneseness as cultural was a politically useful retort to the milder forms of Japan bashing that called Japanese *economic* animals. As the friction over Japan-US trade policies intensified from the eighties, the iconic presence of tea became an asset that could be internationally deployed in the ongoing public relations skirmish. Political investments in the presentation of tea as *cultural* were considerable and these accounts explain the insistence at weekly tea practice that is not political or economic. The realm of tea was argued to be cultural and spiritual.

By developing a global presence for Senke tea culture, Urasenke Grand Master XV made it possible for tea students across a number of continents to receive instruction from professional tea teachers. One long-term effect of this global act of cultural democracy was to reveal that national identity is a performance. The pre-war assumption that tea-room competency was a sacrament existing at the intersection of Japanese ethnicity, language and culture was being challenged by the steady progress of non-Japanese through the system of graded licences that permitted the study of increasingly advanced tea procedures.

This positioning of tea by the Urasenke Grand Master XV as the epitome of the reconstructed Japan involved erasing tea's complicity in bringing the aesthetic response of individuals into the militarist arsenal. This is consistent with how the optimistic fervour of the introduction to a book of *ukiyoe* prints assigned the cultural sphere to the

position of an *outcome*, and not a domestic *means* of achieving that goal: 'On that glorious day when we have triumphed in the Greater East Asia War, when America and England have been conquered, and the radiant splendour of Japanese culture shines throughout the world, Japanese arts will illuminate the universe.'[71] The post-war coupling of tea and peace recalls Sassa's 1911 representation of early modern Japanese agents of colonial expansion as refined Heian aesthetes. Culture as nationalism assumed a pose of being a neutral and inevitable part of the landscape while actually positioning itself in the foreground of a Japanese national identity that was increasingly militaristic and aestheticized in the early twenty-first century.

Moving the focus away from the tea practices of Kyōto which have generally been positioned as the centre of the tea universe in English tea scholarship reveals an explicitly military application of tea. Anecdotal evidence suggests that between 1941 and 1945 in Fukuoka's Hakozaki Hachimangu, tea ceremonies were held that sought divine assistance for victory. These ceremonies, *senshō kigan kencha*, were prayers for victory in the Pacific War. These offertory tea practices performed inside a shrine that is one destination for those who run Hakata's Yamakasa festival are not connected to Sen offertory practices commemorating Rikyū and his descendants, but their existence as military sacraments supports an argument that accounts for tea's politicized position in the Japanese cultural landscape.[72]

More recent evidence of the alignment of tea with the more right-wing elements of the conservative LDP government can be found at Yasukuni Shrine, a central institution of state Shintō that commemorates Japanese war dead. The annual offering of Sen tea by Urasenke Grand Master XV to the spirits of the war dead at Yasukuni Shrine could be interpreted along the lines of the justification offered by Prime Minister Koizumi Junichirō: all such visits are prayers offered in the hope of never entering war again. The extent of the domestic and international disapproval of Yasukuni Shrine is addressed in Chapter Nine.

## *Conclusion*

The aesthetic responses and experiences of literate Japanese were a zone of contestation in the formation of early modern Japanese citi-

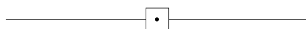
zenry. Literature and painting operated as technologies of the national self that supported the militarization of the national population. As part of an analysis of how film subverts the nationalist sentiments of cultural nativists, a later chapter argues that the colonization of aesthetic practices by nationalist discourses continues to be a sonorous part of public life today.

Four films representing Rikyū unsettle these aesthetic attempts to construct a monolithic Japanese identity. Two versions of *Oginsama*, the first directed by Tanaka Kinuyo in 1962 and the second directed by Kumai Kei in 1978, regender the nation by focusing on the choices made by Rikyū's adopted daughter in her love for one of Rikyū's followers, Christian daimyo Takayama Ukon.[73] Kumai Kei's 1989 *Sen no Rikyū: Honkakubō Ibun* and Teshigahara Hiroshi's 1989 *Rikyū* address the tension between anecdotal accounts of Rikyū's aesthetic life and the written historical record that documents his activities as a bullet merchant.

While these four films reconfigure national identity, they link values legitimating *seppuku* and the tea tenet of cherishing the instant. As the Chapter 2 review of Meiji literature and Shōwa painting demonstrates, this common territory became historically significant when Japanese colonialism demanded citizens internalize a reified version of *bushidō* values. Rikyū had a patriotic application. Grand masters of tea employed transitive Rikyū-ness as one element of wider strategies that led Japanese citizens and children to total warfare.

CHAPTER 5

# WARTIME TEA LITERATURE: RIKYŪ, HIDEYOSHI AND ZEN



> The national essence is, however, by no means fixed in the past, but subject to recurrent reinterpretation.[1]

*Rikyū as representative: tea as national pride*

The recent work of Tanaka Hidetaka (b. 1958) offers important insights into changes in the popular perception of Sen no Rikyū.[2] The Japanese media was a significant element in both the wartime positioning of Rikyū as the embodiment of the highest values of the Way of Tea and the resulting perception that Rikyū's Way of Tea was a worthy representative of Japanese culture. The three Senke tea schools used the opportunity of the two thousand and six hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the imperial line to amplify interest in the historical figure of Rikyū.

It is important for our later examination of how the Hideyoshi-Rikyū relationship is represented in two 1989 films to follow Tanaka's calibration of shifts in popular reactions to Hideyoshi. The image of Hideyoshi as the political ruler who could not comprehend the tea of Rikyū appears to be a relatively modern invention. Large-scale tea gatherings organized around the figures of Hideyoshi and Rikyū helped shape popular perceptions of these men.

After the defeat of Toyotomi Hideyoshi by Tokugawa Ieyasu, the destruction of Hōkoku Shrine in Kyōto was ordered. By 1744, the year of the hundred and fiftieth commemoration of the death of Hideyoshi, his grave was overgrown by grass. However the tale of Hideyoshi rising from peasant stock to be the First Under Heaven embodied the dreams of Edo period commoners enduring the rigours of Tokugawa legislation. In 1868, the Meiji Emperor recognized this popular adulation and ordered the rehabilitation of Hōkoku Shrine. By 1880, the god-spirit of Hideyoshi was installed in the Hōkoku Shrine of Kyōto *and* Osaka. In 1898 exuberant festivities marking the passing of 300 years from the death of Hideyoshi rapidly expanded.

Kyōto assumed the colour of the Kampaku Hideyoshi in a festival that ran from 1 April to 31 May 1898. From 18 April to 20 April 1898 there was one *kencha* ceremony a day and a large-scale public tea gathering ran for those three days. The following attendance figures give a clear indication of the contagious popularity of Hideyoshi, although Tanaka notes that the early modern image of Hideyoshi enjoying tea was already established in 1886 by the three hundredth commemoration of the 1587 Kitano Ōchanoyu. On 18 April 1898, when the *kencha* ceremony was performed by the Omotesenke school, 300 people attended. On 19 April, when the *kencha* ceremony was performed by the Yabunouchi school, 1,500 people attended. On 20 April, when the *kencha* ceremony was performed by Urasenke school, 10,500 people attended.

Reconciling this early modern level of popular interest linking Hideyoshi and tea with more recent accounts of his status as the tyrant warlord who effectively murdered Rikyū highlights the extent to which the Rikyū narrative has been reconfigured. Although this positioning of Rikyū was not solely achieved by the Senke grand masters, they remain the principal beneficiaries of Rikyū representing tea and wartime Japanese culture.

It should be noted that the Senke grand masters were actively involved with the 1936 Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu and the 1940 Rikyū 350 Nenki Ōchakai. In the same way that Rikyū was one of the tea masters serving tea at the 1587 Kitano Ōchanoyu organized by Hideyoshi, the Senke grand masters were members of the organizing committees, public performers of advanced tea procedures and speakers at commemorative lectures at both of these major tea gather-

ings. However, the Senke grand master influence was more evident in the 1940 Rikyū 350 Nenki Ōchakai. Tanaka notes that although there was an organizing committee for the Rikyū 350 Nenki Ōchakai, the Senke grand masters were effectively in charge. As the event organizers, they were in a position to ensure that the emphasis on Rikyū was strengthened.

The scale of the 1936 Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu recalled the lavish tastes of Hideyoshi and exceeded the scale of the 1940 Rikyū 350 Nenki Ōchakai. For five days, the Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu included twelve tea-rooms inside Kitano Shrine and sixteen other sites inside Kyōto. The Rikyū 350 Nenki Ōchakai was confined to eight locations inside Daitokuji Temple. The commemorative service dedicated to Rikyū and the performance of *kencha* that took place on 21 April 1940 was attended by around 700 people. Elements of the *kencha* proceedings were broadcast live from Daitokuji Temple on national radio. Public tea gatherings were held at Daitokuji Temple for three days from 22 April to 24 April 1940, and the commemorative lecture at the Asahi Kaikan that was held on the evening of 23 April 1940 was well attended by people not directly associated with the study of tea. In contrast to the public relations success of the Asahi Kaikan lecture, the commemorative lecture of the Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu was held inside Kitano Shrine and began at 1 p.m. The timing and location of this one-hour event resulted in a comparatively smaller audience, probably composed of tea insiders.

Although the 1940 Rikyū 350 Nenki Ōchakai initially appears to have been dwarfed by the 1936 Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu, the marketing of the tea of Rikyū as national representative of Japanese culture was amplified by the 21 April 1940 use of national radio broadcast and the full-house attendance at the 23 April 1940 evening lecture. The statistics of how many people entered how many tea-rooms was no longer the definitive measure of the importance of tea. Direct experience of tea culture was eclipsed by the wartime representation of tea events as sacramental events at the high end of mass culture. The media became instrumental in bringing those people outside the world of Rikyū tea to understand that the Way of Tea was national culture.[3]

In addition to the two volumes published by the organizing committees of these two events, other tea-related publications were significant elements in moulding public perceptions of Rikyū and his

relationship with Hideyoshi. *The Book of Tea* was published in English in 1906 and the Japanese translation was released in 1929.

> The average Westerner . . . was wont to regard Japan as barbarous while she indulged in the gentle arts of peace: he calls her civilized since she began to commit wholesale slaughter on Manchurian battlefields. Much comment has been given lately to the Code of the Samurai, the Art of Death which makes our soldiers exult in self-sacrifice; but scarcely any attention has been paid to Teaism, which represents much of our Art of Life.[4]

This 1906 admission by Okakura Tenshin that there had been wholesale slaughter in Manchuria during the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95) is relevant to the earlier discussion of how *Kokutai no hongi* representing Japan as the Land of Harmony contradicted the historical record of Japanese atrocities in 1937 China. However, our immediate concern here is how the relationship of Hideyoshi and Rikyū was a significant element in the positioning the Way of Tea to the Art of Death and the Art of Life. In the final pages of *The Book of Tea* Okakura renders Hideyoshi as a powerful villain, an angry despot who has failed to appreciate one truth:

> He only who has lived with the beautiful can die beautifully. The last moments of the great tea-masters were as full exquisite refinement as had been their lives. Seeking always to be in harmony with the great rhythm of the universe, they were ever prepared to enter the unknown.[5]

Rikyū remains immaculately principled and dignified. According to the Okakura account, Rikyū served his final tea with his white death robes concealed beneath his tea-room kimono. Okakura would have the reader believe that Rikyū smiled as he took his own life. As the following quotation documents, the evident poise of Rikyū during his final hours is a common theme in several versions of this incident:

> On the morning of the twenty-eighth [of the second month of 1591], Rikyū is said to have prepared tea for the execution party sent by Hideyoshi, imbibed a final bowl himself, and broken the bowl. He then grasped a short sword and thrust it into and across his abdomen until a guard, the warrior Maita Awajinokami, administered the coup de grace by bringing his sword down upon the tea master's neck. Rikyū's wife Sōon placed a white robe over the corpse. It is said that Maita then carried Rikyū's head to the Juraku Palace, but Hideyoshi refused to inspect the trophy. Instead, he ordered its display with the tea master's statue at

> Modoribashi. At noon, as crowds viewed this morbid spectacle, the sky split with lightning and an unseasonable hail rattled down, covering the ground as much as Rikyū's blood must have flooded over the floor at Yoshiyachō. Later, the statue may have been decapitated and consigned to the river or dumped near Daitokuji.[6]

The smiling Rikyū departure, however, appears to have been an Okakura embellishment designed to emphasize the power of the Japanese spirit to his Western audience of 1906.

Okakura was not the only Japanese author proposing this light-hearted acceptance of death as an essential characteristic of early twentieth-century Japanese identity. Writing in English in 1906, Suzuki Daisetzu links Zen and *bushidō* as he accounts for the conduct of Japanese soldiers in the Russo-Japanese War:

> The calmness and even joyfulness of heart at the moment of death which is conspicuously observable in the Japanese, the intrepidity which is generally shown by the Japanese soldiers in the face of an overwhelming enemy; and the fairness of play to an opponent, so strongly taught by Bushido – all these come from the spirit of the Zen training.[7]

This image of Zen discipline, Rikyū calmly taking his own life, becomes a role model for twentieth-century Japanese soldiers. Although the quotation from the beginning of *The Book of Tea* proposes that the Way of Tea is the Art of Life, the final paragraph of that book demonstrates that Rikyū has rendered it as the Art of Death. In this sense, Okakura anticipates the 1940 assertion by Sen Sōshu that Rikyū provided a lesson in how life should be lived and the *seppuku* of Rikyū was an example of how death should be faced.[8] The 1906 Okakura representation of Rikyū as the 'acme of tragic grandeur'[9] was a significant recalibration of the reputation of Hideyoshi as the hero of the Edo commoner.

### *Rikyū in wartime tea literature*

After *The Book of Tea*, a significant body of literature that dealt with tea history and tea utensils was published during the Fifteen Year War. As the following titles suggest, one portion of that research literature dealt exclusively with Sen no Rikyū. In November 1939, Takeuchi Jō published *Sen Rikyū*, and in November 1940, Nishihori Hitomi published

*Sen Rikyū*. In December 1941, Suzuki Keiichi published *Sen Rikyū Zenshū*. In August 1942, Sue Sōkō published *Rikyū wo gyōshi shite* (Considering Rikyū) and Kuwata Tadachika published *Sen Rikyū* in December 1942. In 1942, Inoue Yūichirō published a novel entitled *Sen Rikyū*. In April 1943, Sen Sōshu published *Rikyū Kōji no Chadō* (The Way of Tea of Rikyū).[10]

In the preface dated September 1939 Takeuchi opens *Sen Rikyū* by addressing the scarcity of written documents relating to Rikyū.[11] The largest reason for this problem was Hideyoshi. Drawing a decisive picture of Rikyū remains difficult work, but a psychological (*seishin-teki*) outline is not impossible. To imagine this mental profile, it is necessary to see the environment of that era and to note the powerful work done during the age of Oda Nobunaga-Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Culturally too, this period was most complex.

Takeuchi notes the 1939 presence of many *meibutsu* tea utensils of various kinds is testament to the influx of foreign culture. However, Takeuchi does not mention that those countries have been visited by Japanese military forces, who, like Rikyū, are armed with a ready willingness to enter the unknown. Takeuchi does not engage the question of how Japanese Buddhist missions were agents of imperial proselytization, identifying anti-Japanese individuals from the countries of origin of these *meibutsu* tea wares.

Takeuchi insists that knowing Rikyū requires being familiar with the flow of power across the surface of that era. At the same time, a knowledge of tea before Rikyū, along with the culture of Chōsen (Korea) and Shina (China) and the other nations of southern seas, is demanded. Spiritually, the huge influence of Daitokuji Zen on Rikyū, and a sense of how certain Christian attitudes at the port hometown of Sakai affected those people who were respected by Rikyū should also be understood. This includes being sensitive to the sorts of alliance formed between Rikyū and Takeno Jōō (1502–55). Knowing these points perhaps allows a glimpse into the probable orientations of the mind of Rikyū.

Takeuchi positions Rikyū as a spiritual man serving the warrior-politician Hideyoshi. Behind the heroic status of Hideyoshi is the probability that Rikyū was somehow above his leader. Four hundred years of daily Japanese life, guided by the spirit of *kokoro*, have been influenced by Rikyū institutionalizing Zen by bringing it into tea. It is

significant for our charting of the flux in the public fortunes of the reputations of Rikyū and Hideyoshi that Takeuchi notes that Hideyoshi is without logic (*muron*). As we will see in a later chapter, it is this tension between aesthetic ability and social status that director Teshigahara examines in his 1989 film.

Takeuchi asserts more than being a man of tea, Rikyū captures our interest most because of his humanity. As a man of tea, individuals like Kobori Enshū were better models of what tea men should be. Their artful craftsmanship contrasted with the artlessness of Rikyū. Rikyū, while being artless, could also be said to have been talented with formlessness.

Takeuchi surveys the body of thought related to Rikyū. If we consider that this so-called Rikyū doctine has advanced somewhat, it is in the point of the relationship of Rikyū to Christians. In the matter of Rikyū refusing to give his daughter to Hideyoshi, the conduct of Rikyū ran counter to the ethical principles of that day. If it is felt that Rikyū held social morals that were at variance with his era, it might be possible to say that perhaps these sorts of precepts were received from Christians.[12]

The December 1941 publication of *Sen Rikyū Zenshū* by Suzuki Keiichi aligns Rikyū with the value most cherished in that wartime age, imperial divinity. The front cover has the title reversed out of a vertical block of black in the centre of the page. Above that black block are four characters that read from right to left, *sadō seiten*, the sacred scriptures of the Way of Tea. To the right of that black title banner are two vertical lines of text. The characters for the two thousand six hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Japanese imperial line and the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Rikyū run parallel, unified at their base by the characters for commemorative publication. The typographical design of the front cover is a reminder that the deification of Rikyū as the Saint of Tea is endorsed by imperial authority because of the timing of their shared anniversaries.

The Suzuki preface intensifies this linking of Saint Rikyū with imperial chronology by invoking the sacred war being waged by the Imperial Forces of the land, sea and air:

> It is my honour to publish this book in the fifteenth year of the reign of the Shōwa Emperor, the two thousand six hundredth year of imperial majesty. This year is an occasion that should be celebrated. Japan is the

> unlimited expanse of heaven and earth, with an unbroken imperial lineage. Japan is the absolute epitome of world royalty, and I was born in Japan as a warrior citizen and subject of imperial blessing. We are in the middle of the holy war to achieve *kōa daigyō*, the huge project to unify Asia. The soldiers, sailors and pilots who are fighting overseas are offering themselves to the glory of our imperial country. We are behind their guns. We are related to one aspect of culture. Although this is a miniscule act, I would like to create a meaningful project that celebrates this two thousand six hundredth year of imperial largesse.[13]

Suzuki explains that part of his motivation for writing a book about the man who brought tea culture to perfection was to encourage more research into how Rikyū synthesized art, crafts, architecture, gardening and cooking as he was also determining the standards for tea-serving procedures.

In an earlier section we examined the role of the three Houses of Sen in contributing to the eclipse of Hideyoshi in the popular imagination by Rikyū. After the Suzuki worship of Saint Rikyū in the beginning of his preface, it is not surprising that Suzuki expresses his delight at receiving the assistance of the three Houses of Sen. Suzuki concludes his preface by making a sincere apology for the delay of the publication of the book. Although originally planned to be released in 1940 as part of celebrations marking the two thousand six hundredth anniversary of the founding of the Japanese imperial line, *Sen Rikyū Zenshū* finally went on sale on 25 December 1941.[14]

The patriotic tone of the Suzuki preface contrasts with the comments made by Omotesenke, Urasenke and Mushanokōjisenke Grand Masters.[15] The prefaces of these tea masters largely confine themselves to matters directly related to tea history and experience. Sen Sōsa, the thirteenth Omotesenke *iemoto*, writing in August 1941 under the name of Sen Sokuchūsai, speculates about the Rikyū memorial in Shukōin as he recalls the characters engraved on that stone monument.

When Sen Sōshitsu, the fourteenth Urasenke *iemoto*, aims to correct a bent misunderstanding of *wabi*, it appears reasonable to conclude that he is making an oblique criticism of wartime Japan while refuting the fervent patriotic tone of Suzuki. *Wabi* is the Japanese root of the Way of Tea, but even the roots of *wabi* are misunderstood in modern society. The true way of the tea of Rikyū is to be natural, sincerely thankful, and not arrogant. The aim of the life of Rikyū was to follow

this technique of self-discipline. Rikyū taught the way of praising the little flowers blooming in the forest.

The Sōshitsu call for a retreat from arrogance appears to refute the Suzuki outburst of national pride. However, when Sōshitsu writes that an example of *wabi* is everyday life with no waste, *muda no nai nichijō ga* '*wabi*' *no gugen de arimasu*, it is also possible to interpret his tea world pronouncement as a paraphrase of wartime calls for self-sacrifice in the name of the wartime economy. As for the *wabi* of Rikyū, in these days it is our occupational duty to follow the true way of the tea of Rikyū because we are living in the age of *kare gare*, drying and dying. Even in this kind of period, there is a spring from which water is ladled and poured into our hearts to enrich our minds. This is the best thing to do in our modern society.

In seeking to correct the misuse of the *wabi* philosophy, Sōshitsu is perhaps using this natural image of fresh water as an antidote to the jingoistic Suzuki preface. In praising the flowers that are dwarfed by trees, Sōshitsu may be reminding his audience that all life is precious: imperial god *and* cannon fodder citizens.

Sen Sōshu, the twelfth Mushanokōjisenke *iemoto*, writes about the origins of the name Sen Rikyū. The Sōshu recount commences by linking the origin of names such as Sen Sōsa, Sen Sōshitsu and Sen Sōshu with the Zen practices of Daitokuji Temple. These names were received from Oshō. The Sōshu tale continues by linking tea with imperial history, recalling the role of Rikyū in Hideyoshi's palace tea. A list records the utensils used on such an occasion. Sōshu dates his preface as being written on the twenty-fourth day of the first month of the year of the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the death of Rikyū Kōji.

The primary thematic concern of Kuwata Tadachika in his June 1943 *Shōgun to Sadō* (Generals and the Way of Tea) is the intimate association of tea with the warrior class.[16] In *Sen Rikyū*, Kuwata Tadachika frames Rikyū in the national narrative. While addressing the treacherous complexities of sixteenth-century upheavals that ultimately consumed Rikyū, Kuwata may have also been making oblique comments for his wartime audience. After an initial print run of 3,000 copies in December 1942, permission was given to print 5,000 copies in May 1943, 3,000 copies in July 1943, and 3,000 copies in March 1944. Kuwata acknowledges the assistance of Mushanokōjisenke

Grand Master Sen Sōshu in dealing with the specialist matters relating to the provenance of utensils in the Rikyū *konomi* taste.

The preface of Kuwata positions Rikyū as a hidden founder of Japanese culture. According to Kuwata, Rikyū was a man who lived through his emotions. Individuals who live through their emotions are subject to more danger than those people who can use an abacus. The condition of being conscious of danger already means not being overly subject to a calculating temperament. Those people who conclude that Rikyū was a mundane man are themselves ruled by a calculating spirit. Rikyū was the man who gave both spiritual nourishment and material enrichment to Japanese culture.[17]

The 1942 preface to *Rikyū wo gyōshi shite* (Considering Rikyū) was not written by Sue Sōkō because he was bedridden. Writing in an archaic style, his wife noted that the army had increased in size, bombs were falling from the sky, and the world had become busy. For being able to publish a book in these times, deep thanks must be given to the imperial largesse. Three thousand copies were authorized for distribution.

*Rikyū Kōji no Chadō* (The Way of Tea of Rikyū) primarily consists of a number of essays by Sen Sōshu, several of which were written after 1939 and re-published in 1943. Topics addressed include the Way of Tea of Rikyū, his hand-cut bamboo vases, the Rikyū *konomi* style and utensil preferences, and the history of the Rikyū memorial services. After the initial April 1943 print-run of 3,000 copies, permission was given to reprint an additional 2,000 copies in September 1944.

In the previous chapter we examined the reference to the death poem of Rikyū in the tea ware assembled to commemorate the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his *seppuku* death. At that tea gathering held in Daitokuji Temple in 1940, three tea scoops were named with the respective characters for power, embrace and hope. The publication recording this wartime event contained reproductions of these characters written by the three Senke grand masters. In his account of the two hundred and fiftieth commemoration of the death of Rikyū, Sen Sōshu informs us that these three characters were also employed. Using five sections of old pine from a tree planted in Daitokuji Temple by its founder Daitō Kokushi (1282–1337), three black *natsume* were made as a set of commemoratory thin tea containers. These thin tea containers were made according to the Rikyū specifications for the large, medium and small *natsume* thin tea containers. The box of each

container was labelled in lacquer with one of the three characters: authority (large *natsume*), embrace (medium *natsume*) and hope (small *natsume*).[18]

This essay by Sen Sōshu offers a valuable insight into tea as semiotic play, with loops of utensil references extending across centuries.[19] Key characters from the death poem of Rikyū in 1591 name a set of thin tea containers made from Daitokuji pine in 1840. One hundred years later, the same characters name a set of bamboo tea scoops. The mortality of Rikyū is an inescapable presence in this 1940 celebration of his spiritual contribution to Japanese material culture. As the *seppuku* of Rikyū retained its prominence in the minds of the followers of the Way of Tea, in the popular imagination outside the world of tea the absolute authority of Hideyoshi came to be seen as something less than heroic.

Speaking as a representative of the three Senke tea schools, Sen Sōshu hopes that the three hundred and fiftieth Rikyū memorial service was an opportunity for deepening interest in the Way of Tea. After the long period of foreign cultures being imported into Japan, broadening the influence of the Way of Tea should help integrate Japanese arts, daily routines, hobbies and national thinking. His final comment invites the reader to appreciate the blessed occasion of the two thousand and sixth hundred anniversary of the establishment of the imperial line, noting the good fortune of the Rikyū memorial service being held at this unforgettably auspicious time.

It is a matter of national gratitude that the world of the Way of Tea is fortunate enough to be able to accept the benefits of celebrating this memorial service. By the same token, those members of the Imperial Forces who offered up their souls and bodies at that incident at the end of the previous year must be mentioned. If during the confusion of these times of emergency, should the disorder pile up and consume the culture of the general population, then even this Rikyū memorial service would not be condoned. As all this is considered, deep gratitude is offered to the Imperial Forces and the war dead.[20]

The appreciatively patriotic comments of Sen Sōshu mark a significant transition, away from Hideyoshi being regarded as a hero of the Edo common man to the Way of Tea of Rikyū being associated with dying a self-determined death. As the soldiers and sailors of the

Japanese Imperial Forces struggled to face their own deaths, the Zen foundations of the Rikyū narrative assumed a national momentum.

### Zen is Tea *as imperialism: Zen is the sword, Zen is Bushidō*

Rikyū appears in *The Book of Tea* as the embodiment of the calm decisiveness of Zen. As implied by the phrase *zen cha ichi mi*, Zen and tea are one taste, Zen and tea are widely thought to be intimately linked. Although Katō Etsuko has argued that this connection has no real substantial basis beyond the coincidental coupling of history that became reified as tea mythology,[21] assuming that tea and Zen are related allows us to examine what recent Japanese historical amnesia would prefer to forget. The post-war suppression of the militarist heritage of Zen helps conceal the extent to which tea practices, values and practitioners were implicated in building support for the war effort.

The writings of Suzuki Daisetsu on Zen were important because they linked the Japanese psyche, mind and spirit with the heritage of the martial traditions. This section will demonstrate how the 1944 publication of *Nihon-teki Reisei* (Japanese Spirituality) contributed to a wider Zen project of war support:

> Zen typifies Japanese spirituality. This does not mean that Zen has deep roots within the life of the Japanese people, rather that Japanese life itself is 'Zen-like' … The Buddhism of the Nara [646–794] and Heian [794–1185] periods was merely tied conceptually to the life of the upper classes, whereas Zen put down its roots in the midst of the life of the Japanese samurai. It was cultivated and it budded in that which existed at the depths of the samurai's *seishin* [psyche, mind and spirit].[22]

The Suzuki emphasis on the warrior culture of the Kamukura period (1185–1333) as the defining moment of Japanese spirituality meant Zen influenced a significant wartime change:

> a shift from 'total war' [*zentai sen*], which is focused on military equipment and personnel alone, to an 'all-out war ' [*sōryoku sen*] that mobilizes the entire economy, social structure, and spirituality of a people in a comprehensive state ideology.[23]

In 1944, philosopher Watsuji Testurō wrote about the Way of the Japanese Subject and joyful death on behalf of the Emperor. In mapping how the spirit of self-sacrifice gradually evolved into a

national morality, Watsuji also identifies the Kamukura period as significant:

> The fundamental force that created what is known as Kamakura period Buddhism was this standpoint of the warrior who willingly sacrifices his life for his lord … The samurai consciousness matured into an absolute consciousness incomparably greater than their sense of their own individual lives and loyalties. It was Zen that was linked to the life of the warriors at this stage, permeating every corner of it. For example, it was Zen that permeated their art of swordmanship. Because the art of swordmanship is a discipline of killing an enemy, a Westerner might think that it was totally unconnected with religion. But, as a matter of fact, the Japanese samurai experienced the consummation of their art of the sword precisely in the teachings of Zen. Hence the literature is replete with such phrases as 'the unity of Zen and the sword'. This did not refer to the trivial matter of reflecting on one's own or one's enemy's life; the consummate art of swordmanship consisted in penetrating to an absolute state.[24]

In the same way that Zen and tea were argued to be indivisible by a substantial body of literature and tea mythology, the phrase *ken Zen ichinyo*, the sword and Zen are one, demonstrates how Zen aligned itself with the warring Japanese state: 'the unity of Zen, the sword, and Bushido had only one goal: world peace'.[25]

Despite this early twentieth-century appeal to the role of Japan as an agent of global harmony at the point of a sword, the domestic situation of late nineteenth-century Japan was turbulent. Brian Victoria establishes the historical background of early modern attempts to suppress Buddhism, the Meiji era responses of institutional Buddhism as it sought to compromise with the national government as a survival strategy, and the means by which Buddhism contributed to the Japanese war machine between 1913 and 1930. With this foundation in place, Victoria chronicles the formation of Imperial Way Buddhism and the emergence of Imperial State Zen and Soldier Zen.

Victoria outlines the role of religion during the so-called sacred war by consolidating the position proposed by Suzuki Daisetzu. By the cessation of Russo-Japanese hostilities in September 1905, these eight points were followed by the head priests of institutional Buddhism until August 1945:

> (1) Japan has the right to pursue its commercial and trade ambitions as it sees fit; (2) should 'unruly heathens' (*jama gedō*) of any country interfere

> with that right, they deserve to be punished for interfering with the progress of all humanity; (3) such punishment will be carried out with the full and unconditional support of Japan's religions, for it is undertaken with no other goal in mind than to ensure that justice prevails; (4) soldiers must, without the slightest hesitation or regret, offer up their lives to the state in carrying out such religion-sanctioned punishment; and (5) discharging one's duty to the state on the battlefield is a religious act … In addition to Suzuki's five underlying principles … we may add the following three points: (1) Japan's wars are not only just but are, in fact, expressions of Buddhist compassion; (2) fighting to the death in Japan's wars is an opportunity to repay the debt of gratitude owed to both the Buddha and the emperor; (3) the Japanese army is composed (or, at least, ought to be composed) of tens of thousands of bodhisattvas, ever ready to make the ultimate sacrifice. Their goal is not only the defence of their own country but the rescue of fellow members of the 'Mongolian race' from the hands of Western, white and Christian imperialists.[26]

This succinct outline by Victoria identifies the eight assumptions that constituted the grammar of that Japanese holy war which was sustained by Imperial Way Buddhism, Imperial State Zen and Soldier Zen. It is important to note the similarities between the Okakura rendition of Rikyū as being always ready to beautifully face his own mortality and the fourth, seventh and eighth points summarized by Victoria.

After the February 1938 publication of *Gokoku Bukkyō* (Nation-Protecting Buddhism), the Nichiren sect establishment of the *Kōdō Bukkyō Gyōdō Kai* (Association for the Practice of Imperial Way Buddhism) in April 1938. Drawing on the 1919 writings of Shaku Sōen, the conviction that the benefits of Zen lay at the heart of the Way of the Warrior and were therefore readily transmutable into military power became one of the key assumptions that assisted the formation of Imperial State Zen. After 1937, the moral imperatives of Zen Buddhism were largely ignored as *bushidō* was reduced to the demand that the spirit of self-sacrifice be unquestioningly dedicated to the emperor. The individual mastering of death in the name of the nation was the primary concern of Soldier Zen.

The history outlined by Victoria emphasizes the links between military personnel and Buddhist institutions. The harmonious habits of Japan were strengthened when Shaku Unshō (1827–1909) proposed a distinction between just wars and lawless wars in his 25 January 1885 article 'A discussion on the compassionate Buddhist prohibition

against killing', published in *Mitsugon Kyōhō*. With this nuanced definition in place, eager proselytizers were able to bring high-ranking military officers into the Zen fold.

Yuima-kai is an example of an institutional effort to conscript military men to practise Zen beliefs. Lieutenant General (and Viscount) Torio Tokuan (1847–1905) established this association in 1881 to encourage colleagues to embrace his fervent nationalism while connecting with the Rinzai Zen sect at Shōkokuji Temple in Kyōto. In an 1890 newspaper editorial Lieutenant General Torio argued for a military solution to the intrusive problem of Western democratic principles:

> The adoption of the [Occidental] principles of liberty and equality in Japan would vitiate the good and peaceful customs of our country, render the general disposition of the people harsh and unfeeling, and prove finally a source of calamity to the masses ... Peaceful equality can never be attained until built up among the ruins of annihilated Western States and the ashes of extinct Western peoples.[27]

A second Yuima-kai provides one more example of this overlap between military personnel and the institutional Zen community. Military chaplain Satō Gan'ei (1847–1905) was the clerical head of the Yuima-kai, another lay-community group based in the Nishi Honganji Temple whose membership included high-ranking members of the Imperial Army. When Nishi Honganji produced a series called 'Seishin Kōwa' (Lectures on Spirit), Satō published *Bushidō* in 1902. The calligraphy of Yuima-kai member Lieutenant General Ōshima Ken'ichi (1858–1947), who served two terms as Minister of War and held the position of Privy Counsellor during the Asia-Pacific War, was included in the Satō publication.

In the preface to *Bushidō*, Ōtani Kōen (1850–1903), an aristocrat and the administrative head of that Nishi Honganji-based Yuima-kai, identified the strategic intent of the Satō book: 'to clarify the spirit of military evangelization'.[28] As Victoria reminds us, in 1902 Japan was not yet at war with Russia and yet the final chapter of *Bushidō* alludes to the probability of battlefield death: 'To the Parents and Family of Military Men'. Satō was very clear about the higher forms of authority that organizations such as Yuima-kai acknowledged. In his introduction, Satō argued that Japanese religion should be 'an instrument of the

state and an instrument of the Imperial Household … [by ensuring] that citizens fulfil their duties [to the state] while at the same time preserving social order and stability.'[29]

It would be a mistake to assume that these alignments of religious, imperial and state forms of authority were not without their opponents. Writing in 1934, philosopher Watsuji Testurō sought to define and account for the Japanese spirit. His history of the discourse of that tradition mentions public forms of dissatisfaction with an increasingly nationalized set of spiritual beliefs:

> Accordingly, some critics say, our grasp of the traditional Japanese spirit must not provide the guiding policy to the activity of the future Japanese race. Rather, the traditional Japanese spirit ought to be denounced as something that presents an obstacle to the free development of the Japanese race. That is the way some people seem to be responding to the present situation.[30]

Left-wing critiques of the appeal to the categories of tradition and the nation are thus briefly noted by Watsuji, but he retorts that Japanese traditions will not be unrelated to the future significance of Japan in world history.

Despite the public debate addressing the place of the Japanese spirit in world history, by the early 1940s, the intensity of this Buddhist identification with imperial rhetoric left little room for monastic detachment.[31] The 1942 expression of patriotic sentiments by Sōtō Zen priest Yamada Reirin (1889–1979) featured in *Zengaku Yawa* (Evening Talks on Zen Studies) are authentic and conventional expressions of government propaganda. That a Zen priest could internalize the cardinal principles of national entity outlined in *Kokutai no hongi* should highlight the extent to which Zen unconditionally aligned itself with the ultranationalist excesses of Japanese wartime government:

> The true form of the heroic spirits [of the war dead] is the good karmic power that has resulted from their loyalty, bravery and nobility of character. This will never perish … The loyal, brave, noble and heroic spirits of those officers and men who have died shouting, 'May the emperor live for ten thousand years!' will be reborn right here in this country. It is only natural that this should occur.[32]

The Zen contribution to the war effort was both material and ideological, in domestic and foreign contexts. During the 1904–5

Russo-Japanese War, Russian prisoners of war were detained in Buddhist temples, and various forms of charity and financial support were provided to the families of soldiers. The establishment of Buddhist missions in Korea and Manchuria functioned as a form of military intelligence as mission priests identified non-Japanese individuals thought to be hostile to the membership benefits of the Dai Tōa Kyōei Ken (Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere). A small number of aircraft for the imperial army and imperial navy were purchased with funds raised by the leaders of the Rinzai and Sōtō sects from around 1941.[33]

The ideological support for just wars included the ceremonial chanting of sutras that would ensure military victory. In the overseas missions of the Shin sect, 'emperor tablets' (*tempai*) decorated Buddhist altars: Buddhism forged imperial bonds among the colonial subjects. At home, the Wartime Centre for the Development of an Instructor Corps to Train Imperial Subjects was established by the Sōtō sect in June 1942. The following eight principles of Imperial State Zen were emphasized as a means of improving the martial strength of Japan:

> (1) Promotion of Belief in Certain Victory; (2) The Establishment of Wartime Life; (3) The Practice of Volunteering Oneself for Public Duty; (4) Clarification of [the Concept of] Our National Polity; (5) Guard and Maintain the Prosperity of the Imperial Throne; (6) Respect the [Shinto] deities and Revere One's Ancestors; (7) Train the Subjects of the Emperor; and (8) Recompense the Debt of Gratitude Owed the Emperor.[34]

Institutional Buddhism reinforced the cult of emperor worship by supplying a patriotic set of beliefs that demanded self-sacrifice from Japanese citizens. Framing the war as a battle between the Japanese spirit and American material might drew on a foundation established by the Zen doctrine of *mugen*, being beyond the limits of mortality. In February 1943, Harada Daiun Sōgaku (1870–1961) responded to the government plea for absolute civilian mobilization by writing that 'We must push on in applying ourselves to "combat *zazen*," the king of meditation.'[35] Writing for the Buddhist newspaper *Chūgai Nippō* between 25 May and 1 June 1945, Sōtō Zen priest Masunaga Reihō (1902–81) linked the spiritual rhetoric of Zen with the militarist excesses of the kamikaze squads:

> The source of the spirit of the Special Attack Forces lies in the denial of the individual self and the rebirth of the soul, which takes upon itself the burden of history. From ancient times Zen has described this conversion of mind as the achievement of complete enlightenment.[36]

During the Pacific War, complete enlightenment meant both the absolute oblivion of the individual and eternal life in the national narrative. Combat *zazen* was part of the kamikaze programme for conquering mortality: 'The military high command regularly sent *kamikaze* pilots for periods of intense meditation at Zen temples before dispatching them on their suicide missions.'[37] The means of achieving eternal enlightenment was crude. 'The usual payload of the plane was a 550-pound bomb fused to explode on impact – the death of the pilot a grateful gift to his emperor and nation!'[38]

The deliberate crashing of planes had began by May 1944 and the following July 1944 quotation from the highly classified *War Journal of Imperial Headquarters* illuminates the wider context of the Special Attack air and naval forces: 'We can no longer direct the war with any hope of success. The only course left is for Japan's one hundred million people to sacrifice their lives by charging the enemy to make them lose the will to fight.'[39] Speaking after the Japanese defeat, General Kawabe Shozo reminded readers of the contribution of Zen to the kamikaze mentality:

> We believed that our spiritual convictions and moral strength could balance your material and scientific advances. We did not consider our attacks to be 'suicide' … [The pilot] died happily in the conviction that his death was a step towards the final victory.[40]

Any argument for the linking of the Way of Tea and Zen should acknowledge the extent to which Zen and *bushidō* were significant elements in the material and ideological business of building patriotic support for the war effort. With the forceful conclusions of Brian Victoria's work reinforcing the early twentieth-century image of Rikyū calmly following a lethal order, it becomes more difficult to assert that the Way of Tea was merely an innocent form of cultural nationalism and leisurely middle-class play. In addition, any attempt to deny an intimate association between the Way of Tea and Zen has to somehow discount a fifteen-generation tradition of the grand master system:

> since Urasenke's (*o*)*iemoto* have trained in Rinzai Sen since the time of Rikyū, a priestly function must be added to their repertoire: The *waka sōshō* is officially recognized as the grand master's heir only after he has participated in a ceremony where he is given a certificate (*tokudō shiki*) and new names signifying his initiation into the Buddhist priesthood. This marks the conclusion of a short but rigorous period of Zen monastic training and the beginning of a genuine, on-going commitment to both religious training and practice.[41]

Zen has an institutional significance for the Way of Tea, Zen has a biographical importance for each grand master, and Zen is a crucial element of how each grand master discharges the duties of his office. The admission by fifteenth Urasenke Grand Master that he often spent time comparing the severity of Zen training with the severity of the military lifestyle points to the similarity in power relations between these two modes of shaping wartime citizens.[42]

The ideological linkage between Zen and tea as patriotic forces commences with the 1906 rendition by Okakura of Rikyū smiling as he took his own life in 1591. The 1915 invention of war Zen is compounded by the 1943 appearance of combat *zazen*. The image of Rikyū calmly facing his own death was a role model for members of the Imperial Forces who were conscripted into Soldier Zen.

### *Wartime tea literature*

The following section surveys Japanese tea literature written from 1931 onwards to examine the range of political stances evident in this body of writing. The spread of positions spans from conditional patriotism through several carefully neutral publications to enthusiastic expressions of the global responsibilities of cultural nationalism and appreciative comments about the sacrifices made by members of the Imperial Armed Forces. The intention of this survey is to establish a wider context for the endorsement of military and imperial forms of authority made by the three Senke grand masters.

Kumakura Isao notes that the tea literature of his period was generally driven by two impulses: a retreat into the scholarly treatment of tea history, or a patriotic advance into more nationalist postures. The following sections blend translation, summary and paraphrase but do not claim to be a representative survey of wartime tea writings. However,

the selected works should convey the extent to which tea was part of the public debate about Japaneseness. Tea literature of this period can be regarded as a comment on the 1898 proclamation made by Tanaka Senshō, founder of the proudly Japanese Dai Nippon Chadō Gakkai that the Way of Tea 'must become a kind of nationalist moralism'.[43]

The 1931 writing of Takahashi Tatsuo in *Chadō Meibutsu Kō* (Considering Famous Utensils) offers an alternative to shrill militarism while at the same time using the vocabulary of nationalism against its more extreme advocates.[44] The most important thing is to learn our national history, and to re-appraise cultural history while being free from political concerns. Given that the book is primarily concerned with the famous piece category of *meibutsu*, and many of these tea utensils come from the continent or have a continental aesthetic heritage, it is not surprising that Takahashi notes that the Chinese and Korean influences on Japanese culture cannot be denied.

We cannot help but admit that we have the capacity to absorb continental culture and develop it. Those cultural imperialists who argue for the expulsion of foreign cultures from Japan have forgotten the *Yamato minzoku sei* (the distinctive ethnic spirit of Japan). We should spread the top level of *wabi* arts, which is in our unique soul. We should absorb world culture, digest it, and become great.

Takahashi is not the only tea scholar with international ambitions for the Way of Tea. Although there were political efforts to maintain the purity of Japanese language by discouraging the import of foreign loan words, several tea publications from the 1930s and 1940s have rendered English words into the *katakana* script. Even with this evidence of a cosmopolitan intelligentsia, it is difficult to determine whether individual authors see the Way of Tea as a means of reducing anti-Japanese sentiment. As the earlier examination of the role of *Kokusai Kankō* from 1933 until 1939 documents, educating foreign citizens about the joys of Japanese culture was a significant element of Japanese propaganda.

### *The Way of Tea in citizen education*

Substantial efforts were made to define Japaneseness from 1936 onwards.[45] Education, in both its formal institutional modes overseen by government policies and more informal approaches to lifetime

learning centred on leisure activities, played a crucial role in shaping Japanese perceptions of what constituted an ideal wartime citizen. The following paragraphs examine two publications from this period that document how education and leisure intersected in the modern project of inventing a form of Japanese subjectivity that accepted non-negotiable forms of authority.

*Nihon Gaku no Taikei to Kokumin Kyōiku; Kokugo Kyōiku Shichū* (The System of Japan Studies and National Citizen Education; Currents of Thought in Japanese Language Education) is a composite volume, consisting of nine booklets and featuring the work of fifteen authors.[46] As the semi-colon in the title implies, the book is divided into two sections. The first section begins by noting the domestic establishment of the field of Japan Studies, before mapping the relationship between education and following the Ways of the Gods (Shintō), Tea, Haiku, *Waka* Poetry and Noh. The concerns of the second section are more explicitly theoretical: logicalism and psychologism; culturalism and beliefs in ethnicity; the problems of Japanese language education; and literarism and beliefs in linguistic activities.

In writing about the relationship between Shintō and education, Kōno has written a Way of the Gods primer that outlines Shintō truth, characteristics, the role of shrines and national citizen education.[47] The 1936 writings of Kōno anticipate the imperial themes of *Kokutai no hongi*.

Kōno reminds the reader that Shintō is the Way of Gods. The real essence of Shintō is the divinity of the Emperor. Therefore, volunteer to serve the Emperor and the nation. Shintō encourages loyal patriotism. Konno explains the truth of Shintō. The three pillars of Japanese faith are infinite heaven, peaceful dawn, and the improvement of citizen welfare and happiness. This trinity of Japanese ethnicity depends on the unity of these three beliefs which guarantee the future of Japan.

According to Kōno, the distinctive quality of Shintō is the *Yamato kokoro*, that Japanese spirit defined the following year by the *Kokutai no hongi*: dignity, gentle and friendly nostalgia, purity, and unifying the three truths of Shintō in a simple manner. As the Imperial Edict on Education states, the Emperor is the exemplary embodiment of these Shintō values. The 1890 *Kintei Kenpō* Imperial Constitution emphasizes the right of the divine Emperor to govern with the obedient support

of his citizens. The morality of Japanese citizens is this spirit of public service.

The tools of Shintō education are: *norito,* the chanting by Shintō priests of ritual prayers; *senmyō,* imperial edicts; and *kataribe*, story-tellers. These orthodox modes of education nourish a thriving national perspective and Shintō spirit. Therefore to establish the great nation of Dai Nippon, that is the correct ideal of the Japanese *minzoku* race.

The shrines of our country publicly express the *Yamato kokoro*, the Japanese spirit. The shrine is the object of our belief. The shrine is the base of Japanese morality. The shrine is the expression of the life consciousness of the Japanese race. The shrine is the nostalgic centre of home country *kyōdo* daily life. The shrine focuses the significant differences in terms of the history and customs that exist between the nation, the locality and the shrine itself. The shrine is very close to Japanese politics.

Kōno insists that national citizen education should be centred on teaching the *Yamato kokoro*, the Japanese spirit. At the bottom of the Japanese heart is that spirit which all Japanese have, and that spirit does not want to lose. This dignified mind is the power of the nation. On the other hand, there is the appreciative heart of gratitude for the efforts of one's ancestors and other people. These two impulses define the heart of the Japanese spirit. These traditional beliefs and emotions of the *Yamato kokoro* became our nation's characteristic essence.

The contrast in tone between Kōno writing about the relationship between Shintō and education, and Okuda Shōzo writing about the relationship between the Way of Tea and education is significant. Kōno is preaching as he writes from the assumption that the Japanese national essence has been authoritatively defined. Therefore, it is the national duty of citizens to embody those ideals of harmony, loyalty, and sensitivity to the seasons. Okuda, on the other hand, writes from a perspective that has the Zen emphasis on direct experience. In treating tea as cultural nationalism, Okuda gives no indication what the direct experience of self-denial, rebirth and complete enlightenment during wartime entails.

As the following summary of the writing of Okuda suggests, his writing presents an interesting interpretative challenge. On the one hand, Okuda says that the considerate scholar takes something difficult and renders it simple enough for the common person to use as they

reflect and transform the usual events of daily life into rich experience. On the other hand, his article is largely composed of a series of anecdotal stories that feature Sōtō Zen sect founder Dōgen (1200–53), *wabi* tea pioneer Murata Shukō (1423–1502), Rikyū, Nambō Sōkei (dates uncertain, sixteenth-seventeenth century), and Daitokuji *zazen* meditation.[48] Each of these Zen tales allows the reader to draw their own conclusions as to the probable intended meanings. The problem with this apparently clear writing style is determining the limit of interpretation. For example, should an Okuda comment about the limited perspective of one theory be understood as an oblique criticism of the state domination of the life of the mind during the interwar years?

Okuda makes the observation that tea is just drinking tea. But if such a simple thing becomes tea plus *dō*, giving us the Way of Tea, the audience is surprised at how decent it all becomes. By seeing the *daisu* tea shelf, the *shōgun* is overwhelmed by the gorgeous ceremony. But that entertainment-tea should be discarded. Just boil water and drink tea, and if you understand *wabi*, anyone can copy such things. There is no value in teaching such easy things. Therefore, following that, educating someone about the Way of Tea means nothing.

But if the Way of Tea is merely the technical preparation of tea, we can just learn how to boil the water. Unfortunately, just knowing that is not enough. We need training. However, the objective is not making tea but the process of training becomes the goal. That is what makes the Way of Tea, and that is different from serving tea to guests as a *chaji* tea gathering.

Knowing something, being enlightened by something does not mean knowing many things that other people do not know. If you realize 'That is it!' you use that knowledge in your life. That connection of life and knowledge is called knowing something. Knowing something is not one theory.

Getting to the destination is not the destination. If your goal is to stand on top of the table as an educated being, then you have already lost your destination.

What is more important for the wider argument of this book with tea authority is Okuda's thematic concern with the institutionalization of tea knowledge and practices. Regardless of the interpretative challenges posed by the writing of Okuda, he does not explain how to reflect one's way to a position beyond institutional restraints.

Such a position outside of history does not exist. Substituting the Zen form of common sense for another institutional perspective might be a change but it is not necessarily going to be liberating. The work of Brian Victoria locates Zen in the imperial project of wartime mass culture. In a following chapter I address the problem of institutionalized tea knowledge and the impossibility of direct knowledge in the Way of Tea.

*Nihon Gaku no Taikei to Kokumin Kyōiku; Kokugo Kyōiku Shichū* was the first volume in the Iwanami Lecture on National Language Education series. This one volume unified the Ways of Shintō, Tea, Haiku, *Waka* Poetry and Noh in the national project. The second publication from this period that applied the idea of a distinctive national culture to national citizen education did more than merely survey religion and leisure as technologies of the national self. The nine-volume set edited by Ōe Sumi, published in 1938, is evidence of the comprehensive application of culture to the nationalizing project of imperial Japan. Entitled *Reigi Sahō Zenshū* (Collected Writings on Etiquette), this encyclopaedic series drew disparate cultural practices into the project of creating loyal and diligent wartime citizens. Although I have translated *reigi sahō* as etiquette, it might be more accurate to consider it as a moral technology of the nationalized self.

Volume One addresses basic etiquette in general, and the practice of the Way of Calligraphy by residents. Volume Two deals with ways of making things, Volume Three outlines what is appropriate for rituals and weddings, and Volume Four explains the social expectations and obligations inherent in festive occasions. The following three volumes are dedicated to the Way of Tea, and the remaining two volumes deal with flower display. Volume Eight gives an overview of *seika*, the sparse arrangement of flowers that became known as the export model of *ikebana* in the eighties. Volume Nine explains the conventions of the generally profuse *moribana* displays, and the so-called *nageire* style where flowers are supposedly 'thrown into' vases.

The series preface in the first volume acknowledges that the following volumes are admittedly conservative, perhaps appearing even meaningless. However, Ōe reminds the reader that the original spirit of Japanese etiquette is infinite:

> We Japanese are here with our traditional and unique lifestyle that exists infinitively. Therefore the establishment of Japanese etiquette creates our

identity of ethnic spirituality (*minzoku-teki seishin*) and the daily routines of national citizen life (*kokumin-teki seikatsu*). This is what makes Japanese identity beautiful. As an ethnic group, we can confirm our distinctive characteristics by respecting the classical canons of Japanese culture. Such a renaissance of Japanese etiquette will ensure its eternal presence.[49]

Although Suzuki Daisetzu argues that an *ume* plum tree is not a *sakura* cherry tree,[50] Ōe shows how the total war effort implicated everyone in national service: every moment of the Way of the Warrior, every moment of the Way of the Housewife is a beautiful harmony of the Japanese spirit.

The Ōe project aims to define and shape Japanese ways of being. What is important for our concern with how tea literature positions itself in relation to political power is the Ōe endorsement of military forms of authority and the appeals to the notion of a distinctive national identity. These patriotic values frame three volumes that address tea as a moral and spiritual technology.

Volume Five of the Ōe series outlines the essential characteristics of the Way of Tea. It gives the reader instructions on the learning of the first half of the thin tea serving procedure and how to learn and perform the charcoal handling procedure during the portable brazier season.

Volume Six instructs the reader on how to learn and perform the first charcoal handling procedure during the winter hearth season. Volume Six also gives the details for performing both the thin and thick tea serving procedures during the portable brazier season.

Volume Seven is divided into two sections. The first section deals with tea rules and advanced serving procedures and the second section addresses *chabana*, tea-room flowers. Tea etiquette is a major concern of the first section of Volume Seven. Instructions are given for the host and guest preparations, including how to handle the invitation, the greeting conventions of the guest visit made the day before the tea gathering, how to enter a tea-room, and how to conduct oneself during the *kaiseki* meal portion of a tea gathering. The reader is also instructed on how to perform the final charcoal handling procedure during the winter hearth season. The characteristics of the seven advanced *shichi shiki* group tea procedures, and the different types of *shichi shiki* that can be performed at certain times of the day and their seasonal variations are introduced. The details of how to handle uten-

sils during the inspection phase of the tea gathering are given. Advanced tea procedures that are not *shichi shiki* group tea procedures are introduced. Tea serving procedures to mark seasonal moments centred on flowers, phases of the moon and snow precede the details of serving procedures appropriate for the seasonal extremes of heat and cold, and rain. Other tea serving procedures deal with the New Year, celebration, commemoration, host/guest variations and the use of famous water.

It is obvious that the details of tea traditions have been listed with an encyclopaedic zeal by the Ōe series. This depth of interest in the rich variety of tea culture, and the breadth of cultural practices addressed by this multi-volume series are evidence of the extent to which culture was made to serve political forms of authority in imperial Japan.

Internalizing the idea of education as a national duty was a practice embodied by some writers. The back cover blurb for the Nippon Gyōsho (Japan Industry Book) series explicitly identifies the national aspirations of its earnest authors:

> We who were born and raised by Japan, to enable the good points of Japan to be better known and to collectively reflect on the shortcomings, wish many things. Under all circumstances we wish to learn strongly and correctly without wavering. We wish to become stronger. That is the kind of book we wish to make.[51]

Other titles in the series addressed the topics of society and thinking, blood types, and the climate of the four seasons of Japan. One book gave advice to young women.

The same instructional bias is evident in the eighteenth title in that Nippon Gyōsho series, *Cha no Bigaku* (Tea Aesthetics). The central thesis of Tanigawa Tetsuzō in the thirty-two page booklet outlines the relationship between the four facets of tea: tea as art; tea as social exchange; tea as training; and tea as ritual.[52] Tanigawa acknowledges that despite the origin of tea in Zen temples, and even if the ritual component of tea performs a significant role, these days, what is called *kencha shiki*, those servings of tea to shrine deities performed by Senke grand masters, this ritual tea is somewhat different to tea as social exchange, training or art.

With this one qualification made early in Tanigawa's argument, his

general impulse is to assert the essential unity of these four elements of tea culture. If tea as training is understood as a continuum that commences with the physical remembering of tea serving procedures and extends as far as the rigorous practice of physical endurance associated with Zen, then this 1939 tea booklet brings tea practices into the realm of the discourse of putting up with discomfort for the sake of the nation. In the social context of training, those being trained must accept vertical, non-negotiable, relationships of authority.

### *Debates about the values of the Way of Tea*

As the 1931 writing of Takahashi Tatsuo suggests, debates about the values that should be ascribed to the Way of Tea tend to centre on questions of the domestic and international role of tea and responsibilities of tea practitioners. Given that *wabi* had become an accepted part of an international aesthetic lexicon by the 1980s, it is interesting to note that from the 1930s onwards there were global aspirations for Japanese tea culture. As the following summaries are intended to suggest, the distinction between tea as cosmopolitan versus tea as nationalistic is not necessarily a clear separation. The consistent presence of foreign loan words and foreign cultural references in tea writings from the 1930s onwards suggests that there was a genuine belief that tea could be more than a tool of imperial policy. It must not be forgotten, however, that in the patriotic fervour of the late 1930s and early 1940s, any conviction that the Way of Tea should be a global practice, capable of fulfilling a universal set of delicate human desires, was premised on the military successes of the Imperial Forces.

In a publication dated March 1936, Takahashi 'Daian' Yoshio addresses the true intent of the Way of Tea.[53] Takahashi is determined to argue against the attribution of certain values to the Way of Tea and is convinced that tea values established by Rikyū should be spread outside Japan.

Takahashi notes that Kobori Enshū (1579–1647) wrote that the world of tea is not outside the realm of society. *Jingi chūkō*, loyalty to the lord and filial piety to the father, must be maintained. Preserve the traditional occupation of your household whilst maintaining civil relations with your acquaintances.

Without mentioning a specific name, Takahashi mentions a recent

tea theorist who quoted Enshū, asserting that *jingi chūkō* is the fundamental root of tea values. Among Japanese citizens tea is often regarded as a way of rejecting the world. However, it is a mistake to think that tea people are special. Tea people are also members of the Japanese race. As tea people who are national citizens, the ordinary daily life of Japanese must be followed. But it does not mean that the Way of Tea is initiating the beliefs of *jingi chūkō*. Therefore, when tea writers use Enshū to link the Way of Tea with *jingi chūkō*, that is a mistake. If you read tea literature correctly, you can easily understand that tea is not based on loyalty to the lord and filial piety to the father.

Of course, the Way of Tea was brought to completion by Rikyū. But having researched the character of Rikyū, and the writings of Nambō Sōkei, it appears that everything in the Way of Tea is based on the personal preferences and predilections of Rikyū. Although Rikyū has been respected for three hundred and fifty years as the Saint of Tea, it does not mean that we are moved to revere Rikyū because of loyalty and filial piety. We respect his talent for catching the fundamental Japanese source that now permeates tea practice.

The Way of Tea is praised excessively without any reason. Japanese systemize art. Japanese add to art their individual taste and embrace the infinite expansion of unbounded taste. If we study flowers, we enter the Way of Flowers. If we study incense, we enter the Way of Incense. If we study *waka* poetry, we enter the Way of Poetry. If we study the sword, we enter the Way of the Sword. If we study noh, we enter the Way of Noh. If we study tea, we enter the Way of Tea.

If anyone studies one of these Ways, spontaneously we learn deep truth. If we search this truth and plant it in our minds, we are directly and indirectly related to the *kokka*, the nation. Things that are not connected to the nation do not exist. If, as that tea theorist has said, the Way of Tea was constructed by the government because Japan exists, then the Ways of Flowers, Incense, Poetry, the Sword and Noh are also huge achievements. But, is this Way of Government and Country perspective based on fact? Is this a healthy theory? I think that this tea theorist (who Takahashi does not mention by name) must reconsider this point.

We have many technical colleges in Japan. Each religion – Shintō, Buddhism, Confucianism – has its own educational venues. The belief that the Japanese Imperial Family is the centre of Japanese life, the

need to prevent the decline of social thought, the beliefs of *jingi chūkō*, such things as these are taught in those educational institutions. The nation and individuals are already caught in these networks. Tea people are national citizens who have also learnt these various beliefs since they were children. I do not deny that it is not a bad thing to learn these values again inside the world of tea. But one large doubt remains on the question of whether those values are the fundamental roots of the Way of Tea.

Even if we add the Way of Tea to these other ways of learning, it is all taught in the manner of tea. And then when some tea theorist says that these beliefs are the foundation of the Way of Tea, I do not believe that argument.

It is important for our interest in how tea writers addressed the political climate of their wartime audience to note how the following warning of Takahashi also has global aspirations for tea culture:

> Bringing such beliefs as *jingi chūkō* into the hobby-arts binds these significant hobbies to the extent that they lose their real purpose. The *wabi*, the *sabi* and the *yugen* of tea will be spontaneously destroyed. Our interest in tea will be confused and our motivation will be lost. If that happens, that is the end of nature … If tea is narrowly defined as national etiquette, it won't expand to reach Americans and Russians. The Way of Tea must be the deepest unity of all cultures. Rikyū's perfect provision of the key values of harmony (*wa*), reverence (*kei*), purity (*sei*) and tranquility (*jaku*), these values will live all over the world, unbounded by national concerns. I respect that kind of huge freedom.[54]

When Takahashi warns against disturbing the relationship between nature and the *wabi*, *sabi* and *yugen* of tea as a consequence of reducing the Way of Tea to hobby-art, it should not be lightly dismissed. Given that an earlier chapter on transience noted the central role of nature in the experience of Japaneseness, it appears reasonable to conclude that the destruction of nature can be interpreted as meaning the end of Japanese subjectivity.

Paraphrasing an earlier Takahashi comment should suggest the extent of his concern with the position he attributed to the Way of Tea in the 1930s. If we remember that Takahashi wrote that things that are not connected to the nation do not exist, it might then be possible to imply that nations that are not connected to nature do not exist. What is evident in this oblique comment about the political co-option of

Japanese culture from the 1930s onwards is the Takahashi conviction that cultural sensibilities nurtured by the *wabi*, the *sabi* and the *yugen* of tea are integral to this Japanese construction of nature.

*Sadō Dokuhon* [Way of Tea Reader] by Takahashi Yoshio was published in 1936 by Tokyo publisher Shūhōen, with a reprint appearing in 1943. Unfortunately, I could not locate a copy of either of these versions. The following comments are based on reading the May 1949 *Sadō Dokuhon* [Way of Tea Reader], published by Tokyo publisher Rōran. Therefore, the following comments are provisional, acknowledging the possibility that the liberally cosmopolitan concerns of Takahashi may be a result of a post-war rewriting.[55]

Takahashi Yoshio opens with the preface recalling a visit to Japan by an American researcher of Japanese culture from Detroit. Takahashi surveys tea history, mentioning the struggle of the grand master system to survive during the Meiji Restoration as the value of *meibutsu* scrolls fell, and recording the value of tea utensils sold during the Manshū War. He compares the experience of dining at Oxford University, where faculty and students eat together once a week, to Japanese tea gatherings.

On the question of famous utensils, it is wonderful that there are public treasures and private treasures. During famine these famous utensils can not be a bushel of rice and during wartime they cannot be arrows. However this idea of aesthetic utility is not comprehended by theories of national economy. National property can be divided into various measures, such as gold, silver, land, buildings, equipment, and stock, to calibrate their usefulness for rescuing poor people or being allocated to military expenditure. If we abandon the law protecting our national treasures from foreign export to financially support our social welfare projects, our nation's culture will be destroyed. The culture of our country will revert to that of an undeveloped period. Takahashi then records the sale of tea utensils to overseas buyers, including the record-making purchase of a Katagiri Sekishū (1605–73) tea scoop to Director of the Pennsylvania State Philadelphia History Museum.

Two 1940 publications comment on life during wartime. The August 1940 preface to *Nihon Sadō Ron* [Japanese Way of Tea Theory] of Tanaka Kishirō is written by Mushanokōjisenke Grand Master Sen Sōshu.[56] The Sen Sōshu preface is dated Empire Day, two thousand and sixth hundred year of the Imperial Era. Aside from aligning the

Tanaka book with an auspicious imperial chronology, Sen Sōshu reminds readers that the Way of Tea improves human character. The Way of Tea training is an abundant field that crosses the boundaries of age.

Tanaka makes extensive appeals to the category of Japaneseness.[57] The joy of being born Japanese is reinforced by the link of Japanese culture. The spirit of Japanese culture supports the mind of Japanese people. Tanaka examines how the Japanese Way of Tea should bring a renewal to the routines of daily life. The Zen-Way of Tea connection is discussed several times, along with the Way of Tea of women and the tea-serving procedures of women.

In the September 1940 publication *Nihon Sadō Shi* [Japanese Way of Tea History], Nishihori Hitomi notes that although the Way of Tea is spiritual, this spirit of tea is not a simple matter.[58] Nishihori uses the dominant expressions of the day to remind readers that the Way of Tea developed national citizen life. What is new is the Nishihori assertion that the Way of Tea is meta-culture: the Way of Tea is a considered reflection on this development of national life. Seventy years later, this meta-cultural component of Nishihori's argument provides an orthodox tea-world explanation of how the Way of Tea ceased to be an agent of state nationalism and became part of the global peace movement.

Five thousand copies of the February 1944 publication of *Chaki Zusetsu* [Way of Tea Container Explanatory Diagrams] by Sasaki Sanmi were authorized for distribution.[59] The arts and crafts of Japan have been sustained by the rise of the Way of Tea, which received its influence. Seeing the antique artworks that have been perfectly preserved until today is testament to the power of the Way of Tea. These antique artworks have performed a significant role in teaching how to live beautifully.

The Way of Tea is always based on daily life, teaching people how to live correct and beautiful lives. In a variety of situations, the Way of Tea has many objectives. This includes tea for *shinbutsu*, the offering of *kencha shiki* tea to Shintō gods and *kucha shiki* tea to Buddhist spirits, and the *keichō* teas which mark significant events of joy and sadness such as marriages and funerals. Other possibilities include the welcoming and farewelling of *sōgei* tea, and the lively discussions held during *joji jokei* tea. Tea people express their will and emotions as they use tea utensils to achieve these objectives.

The October 1946 publication of *Raku Chawan* [Raku-ware Tea Bowls] by Sasaki Sanmi concludes by reminding the reader of one of the precepts of the Way of Tea that has been passed down from former times: respect the utensil.[60]

The taste of tea is known through Raku ware tea bowls. Expressions including *'Ichi Ido, ni Raku'* (Ido ware is number one, Raku ware is number two) and *'Ichi Raku, ni Hagi, san Karatsu'* (Raku ware is number one, Hagi ware is number two, Karatsu ware is number three) are too simple to be taken seriously but they tell us that Raku tea bowls are the unmoving foundation of *chanoyu* tea bowls.

This book is my fourth dealing with tea bowls. It was preceded by *Chawan Kokoroe* [Tea Bowl Knowledge], *Karamono Chawan* [Chinese Tea Bowls], and *Kuniyaki Chawan* [National Ware Tea Bowls]. As someone who loves tea bowls, I would like to present this book to tea bowls for the future while also acknowledging it has also been part of my study.

After the Sasaki preface finishing with the conventional date and author's name, there is an additional bold line in a larger font. The presence of this *haiku* is a common device used to allow the reader to imaginatively enter the thematic concerns of the book.

The death anniversary of Rikyū
Early dusk rain
Splendid black tea bowl

The Sasaki passion for pottery maintains a firm boundary between the realms of culture and politics. The preface *haiku* leaves the reader with the image of Sasaki enjoying the deeper pleasures of tea-room life, diving into a tradition rich with networks of association:

> Let us suppose, for instance, that the host brings out and shows to his guests a tea-caddy of artistic value, which is enjoyed by all present, and explains that it was discovered in ancient days by the great tea master *Enshu* (and restored on the list of famous objects d'art), and also that it was once possessed by another celebrated master, [Matsudaira] *Fumaiko*. In such a case, the guests present can share the ways of art appreciation by *Enshu* and also participate in the sentiments of *Fumaiko*. And thus, those living in the present can commune with the great spirits beyond.[61]

With all the ambiguous tension between the Way of Tea as cosmopolitan culture and the Way of Tea as cultural nationalism, the post-war writing of Emori Nahiko recalls the 1930s efforts of *Kokusai Kankō* to

establish Japan as an international tourist destination. The experience of defeat also gives a sobering realism to the Emori hope for tea as international culture. Writing in Japanese and English in 1949 about the charms of tea-rooms, Emori explains the intended purpose of *Chashitsu* (Tea-rooms):

> We have inserted in this book as many photographic cuts of ancient tea-rooms as possible so that the readers may discover the beautiful in those old models. It is sincerely hoped that the readers, through such acquaintances, will some day find themselves in the original rooms which these photographs illustrate. Finally, we may add that the taking of photographs shown in this book was started in 1935 and that some of the original rooms presented here have been destroyed during the war. Accordingly, these pictures constitute invaluable documentary records of celebrated tea-rooms that can be handed down to posterity.[62]

## *Conclusion*

Although post-war Japan was fond of its harmonious self-image, with tea as the distinctive icon of Japaneseness, changes in the popular perceptions of the relationship between Rikyū and Hideyoshi, and the connection made between the conduct of Rikyū and early twentieth-century Zen were two movements that saw tea positioned in a militiarized sense of national identity.

This brief review of wartime tea literature reveals a complex flow of attitudes, from joyously patriotic through deliberately neutral to active criticism of the war rhetoric. The advanced practice of tea involves making allusions to both public and private meanings, and tea masters were adept practitioners of moving across this public continuum of war discourse that changed over time.

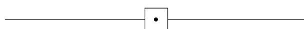
The tea literature of this tumultuous period deserves more sustained and thorough analysis. Closer readings of a more extensive body of wartime tea literature should bring to light a stronger sense of how those fluctuations were related to the combat fortunes of the Japanese Imperial Forces. As a set of texts written by specialists, wartime tea literature could also be examined to explore how cultural practices were implicated in creating a sense of Japaneseness.

Given our concern with the post-war reinvention of tea as part of the global peace movement after its deployment as an agent of state

nationalism, it is interesting to note the undertone of resistance in some of the writings of the fourteenth generation Urasenke Grand Master, Sen Sōshitsu. The use of tea by the fifteenth generation Urasenke Grand Master to increase feelings of harmony is addressed in later chapters.

CHAPTER 6

# GRAND MASTER: *IEMOTO*



> Cultural texts do not simply reflect history, they make history and are part of its processes and practices and should, therefore, be studied for the (ideological) work that they do, rather than the (ideological) work (always happening elsewhere) that they reflect.[1]

## *Introduction*

This chapter introduces the grand master system, *iemoto seidō*. A general definition of the *iemoto* system is followed by a survey of how the *iemoto seidō* is represented in Japanese popular culture. The figure of the *iemoto* is seen to be present in flower arranging, the comic story-telling tradition of *rakugo*, and the Japanese dance form of *nihon buyō*. The Kawabata Yasunari novel, *Thousand Cranes*, is examined in the light of the Kawabata comment that it was intended to critique the excesses of Japanese tea culture.

## *Historical background of the Grand Master system*

The *iemoto seidō* is a device that sustains the transmission of a variety of Japanese cultural practices. The characteristic features and rights are concisely defined by the Gerald Groemer translation of Nishiyama Matsunosuke:

> This system comprises a hierarchical, guildlike structure in which a fictitious household (*ie*) is organized so that the *iemoto* (the head of the *ie*) takes

> both responsibility and credit for transmitting to disciples the orthodox form of the house tradition. The position (and name) of the *iemoto* tend to be hereditary. When no son or daughter (real or adopted) is available, the best or most powerful disciple may be awarded the post. The process of transmitting an art within the *iemoto* system is usually a form of training that appeals primarily to direct experience and praxis. Transmission often involves a certain degree of secrecy, but students who after a period of apprenticeship have attained the appropriate rank (and paid the appropriate fees) may take on their own pupils and continue to pass on the art. The *iemoto*, however, continues to control the tradition by reserving the following rights:
>
> 1. Rights regarding the art – for example, the right to secrecy, the right to allow or prohibit performances, rights over the repertoire or the set forms (*kata*) of an art.
> 2. Rights concerning the teaching, transmission, and licensing of the art.
> 3. The right to expel or punish members of the school.
> 4. The right to dispose of costumes, ranks (pseudonyms) and the like.
> 5. The right to control equipment or properties used in the art.
> 6. Exclusive rights to the income resulting from the preceding five items. Since the Meiji period this right has included the copyright of all musical scores, *nō* texts, textbooks, scholarly writings, or journals issued by the school or family.[2]

Nishiyama identifies three origins of the grand master system: the patterned network of relationships that emerged from the house traditions of warrior families; temple-based arrangements designed to associate certain practices with a particular family brand; and those family-based operations that existed to profit from the transmission of a particular tradition.[3] Nishiyama notes that during the Edo period, because of these various points of origin, several terms were used to designate what we would now call the *iemoto* system. Nishiyama cites the first documented appearance of the word *iemoto* in 1757.

Urbanization was one social condition necessary for the expansion of this third type of family-based operation. The concentration of a literate population in Edo, with their disposable income and a need to display learning as conspicuous consumption, gave rise to an astonishing range of leisure activities across a wide range of socio-economic levels.[4] Herbert Plutschow identifies the political importance of these family business modes of transmission:

> The *iemoto* system prevented the tea sponsored by the shoguns and daimyos to deviate from the norms established by social and political pressures. This kind of petrification of tradition was a useful device for the Tokugawa, allowing them to control the ritual arts and to convey a message of political immutability and stability.[5]

During the rule of the Tokugawa shogunate from 1603 until 1868, the pleasures of the social world of leisure and learning was tempered by noh being used to present political power as inevitable and eternal.[6] During this Edo period, the consolidation of society through the strict observation of rigid status distinctions between samurai, peasants, artisans and merchants was the primary goal of the shogunal government. The learning of various house arts was one area that demanded government attention.

> As William Lafluer has indicated there was a coalescence between the *cosmic* order of medieval Buddhism upon which the arts were originally modelled to the *social* order of Edo period Confucianism (1983: 143, 144). It was a shift from an hierarchy of value to the value of hierarchy.[7]

As the later discussions of grand master tea instruction and tea films explore, the tea-room was one venue where the distinction between spiritual and political values became ambiguous. A later section of this chapter addresses the tension between a hierarchy of aesthetic and spiritual values and the value of hierarchy in how the Way of Tea was represented in Japanese literature of the 1950s.

## *Sensational location:* iemoto *in popular culture and literature*

Since the mid-eighteenth century, these hallmarks of the *iemoto* system have been appropriated across a range of cultural practices. The grand master system is occasionally subject to critique in non-specialist literature and parody elsewhere. The *iemoto* system has also been the subject of sensational newspaper coverage. The status of tea as a global marker of Japanese cultural identity has drawn domestic and international attention to the grand master system as the model that sustains tea and other traditions. The icon of the *iemoto* system has become a trope inside Japanese domestic popular culture.

The Doraemon *manga* takes aim at the practice of hanging out the grand master signboard as a means of generating an income stream. In

this comic, we see two examples of the grand master system: one for adults, another for children. The mother of Nobita studies flower arranging and is ecstatic when she is told that the grand master was impressed by her exhibited work. The second example features schoolchildren and gives more attention to how vertical relationships between the grand masters and their students are created.

The lesson demonstrated by this Doraemon cartoon is that a dirty old hand-painted sign is an important indicator of tradition. With this small piece of wood as a marketing device, tradition sells. The young boy Nobita prospers as a self-appointed grand master until he replaces his small sign with a larger, more obviously commercial and less handmade signboard. Nobita can make all sorts of intricate patterns by weaving a string loop around his fingers and declares himself to be a grand master by hanging out a sign advertising his school. The soiled signboard gives him the authority to rank those fellow classmates who have become his students. Nobita generally uses differently coloured string to rank his students according to their level of accomplishment but he is occasionally susceptible to favouritism.

In contrast to the gentle Doraemon dig at the ranking of students as an integral part of the business of culture, Hanayagi Genshū made a violent protest against the *iemoto* system of Japanese dance. Her 1981 publication mixes frustrated personal experience with a historical perspective.[8] Hanayagi's expression of disbelief at the impossibility of getting a receipt for payments made as part of progress inside the school curriculum resonates with the interest of Japanese tax authorities in undeclared grand master income. Teshigahara Sōfū (1900–79), the Sōgetsu grand master who was the father of *Rikyū* director Teshigahara Hiroshi, made the headlines in January 1970 when a total of forty-four venues were searched by investigators who alleged that income totalling approximately 300 million yen had been unreported.

The title sets the tone for the impassioned writing of Hanayagi as she portrays herself as one who defends and destroys tradition. *Shura* is an abbreviation of *ashura*, and in the Aryan tradition *ashura* were demonic anti-gods. In Japanese Buddhism, *asura* were one of those eight types of guardian spirits who protected that faith. *Asura* were also thought to inhabit that Buddhist world of strife located on the ocean floor.[9]

It is the combination of money and authority inside the *iemoto* system that incurs most wrath as Hanayagi writes from the position of

being both a consumer of mass culture and a performer of *nihon buyō*. However, at times Hanayagi appears to be railing at authority itself.

The *iemoto* system is an imperial system. The *iemoto* of the *iemoto* is the Emperor. The Emperor uses *iemoto* without moving himself. I cannot permit the Emperor, with the name of the *iemoto*, and other types all sitting on the seat of authority.

Hanayagi argues that once people understand the organization of the grand master system, they will cease to pay money to take official school names (*natori*). Paying for the privilege of learning secretive higher levels of instruction (*okuden*) will become less popular because *natori* and *okuden* are not absolute indicators of proficiency. *Natori* and *okuden* are devices for generating an income stream for the grand master system.

Hanayagi justifies her writing by using an embattled rhetoric. As a lower-class performer she claims to be fighting to live as a performer. Her courtroom battles were also explained as being related to her concerns as a performer. After stabbing Hanayagi Jusuke (1935–2007), the third Hanayagi Grand Master, at the National Theatre on 21 February 1980, Hanayagi Genshū did not appeal her subsequent conviction and served an eight-month sentence. Her book was released while she was imprisoned and it invited readers to participate in something more than a cultural movement. Fight, act and live by making blood flow as the collective war is declared against the massive enemy, the structure of authority. Hanayagi eagerly awaited her release and anticipated much public interest in the inflammatorily titled series of national gatherings called Demolishing the Grand Master System: Hanayagi Genshū Co-operative Battle Meeting.

Ishimori Eiko shares the incredulity of Hanayagi Genshū. The fact that organizations established to transmit the Way of Tea or teach how to display flowers have reported incomes measured in units of hundreds of millions of yen intrigues Ishimori. In January 1981, the safe of flower grand master Ikenobo Sen'ei held the equivalent of US$600,000 in cash, leading to speculation that he might be liable for tax evasion charges. The domination of each of these pyramid-based structures by a one man, when more than ninety-five per cent of fee-paying members are women, also captures her interest. Ishimori and Hanayagi both see the success of grand master systems as evidence of a particularly Japanese weakness in the national character.

Ishimori examines a number of grand master systems and accuses five tea schools of various shortcomings and obese excesses.[10] The Urasenke school is charged with reducing Rikyū's key values of harmony (*wa*), reverence (*kei*), purity (*sei*) and tranquility (*jaku*) to empty commodities. The regrettable outcome of this commodification was the confusion of the Way of Tea people. Ishimori notes the ironic gap between the experience of Rikyū as an advocate of austere *wabi* tea under the authority of Toyotomi Hideyoshi and the current status of tea grand masters as figures blessed by considerable power and wealth. Ishimori takes issue with the statement by Sen Sōshitsu that 'I came into this world having drunk tea in my mother's womb. That's why I have green blood.' Ishimori reads this almost playful assertion as an example of how a grand master justifies his own unassailable position as the hereditary embodiment of that tradition.

The distinction between the Urasenke and the Omotesenke schools is challenged by noting how cooperation between the two grand masters allowed their schools to survive the confusion of post-war Japan. Ishimori notes the need for balance between the 'old fever' of tradition and the younger generation of grand masters and identifies the link between Zen and tea as one image that can help tea beginners understand this old fever.

Ishimori gives an overview of the history of Dai Nihon Chadō Gakkai, including its establishment as a reaction to the culture of secrecy and isolation by the three Senke schools. With Dai Nihon Chadō Gakkai reporting annual income of 80,000,000 yen, Ishimori notes that this tea school that initially rejected the grand master system is now operating in a manner that is financially indistinguishable from the *iemoto* schools.[11]

In the same way that Ishimori was bemused by the distinction between the Urasenke and the Omotesenke schools, the fact that two Edo Senke schools of tea exist causes moderate confusion. Members of the two tea schools distinguish themselves from the other Edo Senke school by using geography (the Ike-no-hashi Edo Senke school versus the Yayoi-machi Edo Senke school) or a lineage of their grand masters that descends from their single founder, Kawakami Fuhaku (1719–1807). Fuhaku was an Omotesenke student, taught by Sen Sōsa VII, Joshinsai Tennen (1705–51).

Amidst these struggles over names and authenticity, Ishimori

emphasizes that this place called the world of the Way of Tea is in fact not the place where the spirit of tea is revered. Regardless of how harmony (*wa*), reverence (*kei*), purity (*sei*) and tranquility (*jaku*) are touted and advocated as official values, it is those who hold authority who are seen as pure.

Ishimori uses the Sōhen Ryū experience to question whether the spirit of the Way of Tea can be understood by non-Japanese. Although praising Sōhen Ryū for their serving of celebratory tea to commemorate Japanese-Turkish relations as an example of civic diplomacy, outside of Japan the depth of *wa*, *kei*, *sei* and *jaku* is probably flattened into tea as little more than amity. Ishimori suggests that the spirit of *wabi* tea might also be a casualty of world changes. Although Sōhen Ryū can be proud of their status as a school of tea famous through the Edo, Meiji, Taishō and Shōwa periods, perhaps its authority has been undermined by larger events. The defeat of Japan in the Pacific War and the post-war reconstruction were accompanied by a gradual increase in the rational modes of Europe and America that chased off the spirit of the Way of Tea. *Wabi* tea quietly became the 'Way of Tea industry'.

Writing out of the comic tradition of *rakugo*, a popular cultural practice that boasts a history of several hundred years – largely sustained by a master-apprentice model of transmission, in 1999 Tatekawa Danshi adopted the *iemoto seidō* that preserves tea values and practices, attempting to symbolically kill the master of the money machine.[12]

> Tachikawa Danshi V (actually VII, b. 1936) … seceded from the Rakugo Kyōkai with his disciples in August 1983. He founded the Tatekawa-ryū and introduced a master-disciple relationship such as that found in Japanese arts like flower arrangement and the tea ceremony (the *iemoto* system). The connection between him and his disciples is relatively loose, and the disciples have to pay a monthly fee to their master [*gessha*]. Most of his disciples resigned themselves to their fate, but the grumbling has not ceased … Because of the secession from the Rakugo Kyōkai … he has to think of various ways to provide a livelihood for himself and his disciples. Most recently he started advertising a '*rakugo* pack to order' in the whole country. Whoever wants a complete *rakugo* session has just to place an order at Danshi's office. Then a team of Danshi's followers will come, arrange the stage and perform three *rakugo* stories and one or two other shows (mostly *manzai* or *mandan*). The current fee (1988) for a 'pack' is ¥99,800 (ca. $750) plus travel and lodging expenses.[13]

The *iemoto* system has been useful for generating income streams across a wide range of cultural practices. Without the spectre of an honoured patriarch, inventing an economically viable tradition can be a challenging task.

## Thousand Cranes *by Kawabata Yasunari*

Tea-room settings, along with officially approved utensils and the seasonal sensibilities that are transmitted by the grand master system, feature in Kawabata Yasunari's 1952 novel *Thousand Cranes*. On 12 December 1968, Kawabata became the first Japanese author to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature. Kawabata interrupted his survey of the glory of Japanese literature to correct a misrepresentation of his tea-related work:

> A tea ceremony is a coming together in feeling, a meeting of good comrades in a good season. I may say in passing, that to see my novel *Thousand Cranes* as an evocation of the formal and spiritual beauty of the tea ceremony is a misreading. It is a negative work, and expression of doubt about and warning against the vulgarity into which the tea ceremony has fallen.[14]

The treatment of tea in *Thousand Cranes* is more oblique than in one Kawabata work that directly comments on tea as public spectacle. Contemporary tea practices are bluntly criticized in *Hi mo Tsuki mo* (Sun too, Moon too). Large tea gatherings are accused of showing only the external features of tea. Tea events conducted on the scale of the Kōetsu Kai, where three hundred guests are served, are not public revivals of the tea heart but are merely ostentatious tea festivals.[15] People who can see the spirit and outline of tea at these gatherings, where tea is prepared outside the tea-room and served to guests before they inspect the impressive array of pedigreed utensils, are mistaken. The spiritual component has been discarded.[16] As the following analysis suggests, *Thousand Cranes* is nonetheless a trenchant critique of the excesses of the tea world. It is Kawabata's judgement that the grand master system has not been able to transmit the heart of the Way of Tea.

Rather than comment explicitly on what is vulgar in the way post-war tea is practised under the grand master system, in *Thousand Cranes* tea provides the motivation that frames the narrative: 'The characters

in Kawabata's novel enter into relations with one another only through the structures provided for them by *chanoyu*, and those structures determine entirely the course and outcome of those relationships.'[17] In the novel, tea is a Mitani family tradition that is enmeshed with additional complications.

Kikuji has inherited a tea-room, a significant collection of tea utensils, and a network of tea-based relationships from his deceased father. Tea was the context that provided Kukuji's father the opportunity to love Kurimoto Chikako and the wife of the deceased Mr Ota. Four years after the death of the father, the tea life of the father remains soiled for Kukuji because of these extra-marital relationships. Because the initial point of contact between Kukuji's father and the wife of his business colleague was the sale of the tea ware of the deceased Mr Ota, even tea utensils appear to be tainted to Kukuji. Tea operates in the narrative as 'a bond like a curse'[18] with venom and poison being values commonly attributed to the tea teacher Kurimoto Chikako.

It must be said, however, that attributing to *chanoyu* the power to absolutely determine the outcome of a dynamic set of human interactions may be somewhat of an overstatement. If *Thousand Cranes* did nothing more than deny the beauty of tea, and if tea practitioners were automatons independent of all other social institutions except the grand master system of cultural transmission, this claim of tea entirely determining the direction and destiny of the characters may be plausible.

Examining the plot of the novel tests the validity of this claim for the inability of tea people to move beyond the structures provided for them by tea. If the grand master of tea is deemed to have this absolute influence over those who move into tea-rooms and exchange greetings and tea utensils, based on what happens in *Thousand Cranes*, we are obliged to accept that *chanoyu* is a structure that can drive some people to infidelity, intrigue and suicide.[19] This overstated claim is unreasonable.

It is important to remember that relationships in the novel have a complexity that comes from two generations of intimate contact in tea-rooms and domestic spaces. As part of the pattern of those convoluted arrangements, individual identities merge. The son has the potential to assume the persona of the father:

> He had been led easily into the other world. He could only think of it as another world, in which there was no distinction between his father and

> himself … He could imagine her in this other world, making no distinction between her dead husband and Kikuji's father and Kikuji.[20]

Slipping into the identity of the father left Kikuji feeling soiled because of the intimate association with the tea teacher Kurimoto: 'He could see his father biting at her birthmark with dirty teeth. The figure of his father became the figure of Kikuji himself.'[21] The history of the father meant that Kukuji was infected by Kurimoto Sensei, and this contagion stains his relationships with prospective marriage partners: 'The dirtiness was not only in Chikako, who had introduced them. It was in Kikuji too.'[22]

More than being merely unwashed, Kikuji is conscious that he resembles the darker side of Kurimoto Sensei. After concluding that Kurimoto Sensei had probably been actively scornful of Mrs Ota, 'Kikuji saw signs of much the same cruelty in himself, and he found something seductive in the thought that he could injure her with a light heart.'[23] As a tea teacher, Kurimoto Sensei's finely tuned sense of what is appropriate never fails her: 'Even when she was annoying him, she rarely said things that startled by their incongruity. Everything went with the self-loathing that had become part of Kikuji's nature.'[24] Kikuji hates himself for how he has swallowed the vilest part of the Kurimoto personality.

The breakdown of the difference between individuals is not confined to the Mitani family. In the case of Kurimoto Sensei, she takes on another identity as she tries to organize the emotional future of Kikuji's life. Her treatment of marriageable people was an imposition of the almost demented Kurimoto will that had nothing to do with tea as the peaceful impulse of considerate hospitality. Guests and her young female students of tea ceased to be individuals capable of making their own independent decisions once they entered the Kurimoto tea-room. Someone's destiny was merely another utensil to be arranged in combination with another fate. The contrast between human mortality and tea utensils from the origin of the grand master system was caught by Kurimoto Sensei in an unchanging season of relentless hostilities:

> Revulsion came first. But it was a remarkable story, this marching into a house with the master out, and taking over the kitchen … She had borrowed an apron from the maid, and her sleeves were pushed up. The apron had belonged to Kikuji's mother.[25]

Such slippages of identity are also repeated between the Ota mother and daughter. This blurring of generational lines is compounded when a similar transfer occur between some characters, tea utensils and their deceased previous owners:

> Fumiko's father had died and Kikuji's father had lived on; and might not this pair of Raku bowls have served as teacups when Kikuji's father came to see Fumiko's mother? Had they not been used as 'man-wife' teacups, the black for Kikuji's father, the red for Fumiko's mother? . . . The pair of Raku bowls deepened the sorrow they had in common.[26]

In addition to the complication of blurring the boundaries between individual characters, conversations are defined by the curse of two generations of emotional complications. Allusion becomes a mode of criticism in a conversation between Kikuji and Mrs Ota about his father and her daughter:

> 'It was a trial for Fumiko to see you.'
> 'Because my father caused her a great deal of pain.'
> Kikuji meant to suggest that she had caused him a great deal of pain.[27]

Kikuji uses reversal to chide Mrs Ota for the complications her sustained adultery had inflicted on him as a youth. Kikuji later interprets a comment made by Kurimoto as a similar reversal:

> 'Your father suffered a great deal at the hands of that woman.'
> It was Chikako who had suffered, thought Kikuji.[28]

These confusions of identity and convoluted modes of address are accompanied by a dense barrage of negative emotions of regret, guilt and a sense of being defiled.[29] These sullied sentiments are generally not experienced in typical tea-rooms. It seems unlikely that one single cause can give rise to these multiple complexities of identity, history and communication. Identifying the various narrative conclusions of *Thousand Cranes* as inevitable expressions of tea's power to determine the outcome of human destinies does appear to exaggerate the influence of grand masters over their tea students.

Although it is true that the interaction between characters is structured by *chanoyu*, tea structures do not solely determine the final course and outcome of those relationships. A reading of *Thousand Cranes* should reveal that the institutions of law and marriage, conventions of

inheritance and suicide all interact with individual psychologies captured in the Kurimoto world of her vicious tea sensibilities.

Instead of overstating the influence of tea on the characters of *Thousand Cranes*, one alternative might be to read how the novel represents tea. It is in the deconstruction of tea as an intimate sharing of seasonal rhythms and once-in-a-lifetime gatherings that the novel projects the concerns of Kawabata with the moral decline of tea. As has already been implied, the shortcomings of tea are most evident in the conduct of Kurimoto Chikako.

Kurimoto Chikako is a tea teacher. When Kikuji was eight or nine, he visited her house with his father. They sat in the tea-room that was the classroom where Kurimoto Sensei gave her tea instruction: 'Though it was broad daylight, rats were scurrying about in the hollow ceiling.'[30] In contrast to the rhetorical importance given to purity in the practice of actually learning how to handle tea utensils, procedures and spaces, the tea-room presence of vermin calls up a worrying disgust. Against the conventional image of tea as the *wabi* embrace of the withered, the worn and the imperfect, the figure of the tea teacher is something more bestial: 'Kikuji was obsessed with the idea that a child who sucked at that breast, with its birthmark and its hair, might be a monster … Perhaps that breast with its birthmark would have withered … [T]he memory of that birthmark on Chikako's breast was as concrete as a toad.'[31] Thoughts about the possible damage the repulsive Kurimoto Sensei might have inflicted on children only heightens the self-hatred of Kikuji.

In *Thousand Cranes*, tea is plagued by 'the rankling histories of the middle-aged women'.[32] Outside the world of the novel, women tea teachers are respected for their devoted initiation of younger women into the rigorous pleasures of the aesthetic and spiritual universe of tea: 'Through bodily discipline, the tea ceremony at the same time encourages practitioners to achieve discipline of mind.'[33] Senior women tea teachers are masters of the aesthetic keystone of advanced tea practice, *toriawase*, the process of utensil selection and combination to make multiple allusions: 'While the performance aspects of the ritual leave comparatively little room for creativity, the *toriawase* is an exciting challenge and in many ways the key to the art.'[34]

Kurimoto Sensei specializes in her particular form of *toriawase*, making pointed personal allusions that spring from the ownership his-

tory of utensils. The maliciousness of her *toriawase* is calculated to humiliate and wound, and this venomous discipline is evident in the tea gathering inside the Kamakura temple Engakuji at the beginning of *Thousand Cranes*:

> Kikuji remembered the tea bowl Chikako had placed before the girl. It had indeed belonged to his father, and his father had received it from Mrs Ota.
>
> And what of Mrs Ota, seeing at the ceremony today a bowl that had been treasured by her dead husband and passed from Kikuji's father to Chikako?
>
> Kikuij was astounded by Chikako's tactlessness.[35]

Tea gatherings held inside temples tend to be somehow both more settled and more intensely focused than similar events held in other rented tea venues. As a tea student, my expectation was that the temple setting would highlight the spiritual component of tea, perhaps by a *toriawase* that includes a utensil that indexes the location of the temple. Instead the reader is treated to the appearance of a historically significant tea bowl.

The delight at the use of an Oribe ware bowl dating from the sixteenth century by Kurimoto Sensei is short-lived. The base illusion conjured by her *toriawase* reeks because 'by this contrivance Kurimoto has found the perfect means of weaving together the destinies of the various actors, drawing into her web the generation of dead fathers, living (and dying) wives and mistresses, their marriageable children, and an innocent bystander as well.'[36] Worse than being simply vulgar, as the earlier quotation from Kawabata's Nobel acceptance speech charges, tea becomes a vicious form of warfare conducted on the soiled frontline of the savage Kurimoto psyche, in a tea cottage that is heavy with mildew and surrounded by a dank, unkempt garden.

The tea-rooms hosted by Kurimoto Sensei reverse the image of tea as the aesthetic embodiment of Japanese harmony:

> from the seventeenth century on in Japan, one is confronted with a discourse not of essential conflict but rather of essential concord (*wa*) … Of course, such a discourse ignores the very real history of social conflict in Japan, including the realities of class structure and conflict, the historic oppression of various minorities and of women, and the appalling environmental pollution and severe degradation of social life in contemporary Japan (as elsewhere). Such a discourse even serves, it may legitimately be argued, precisely as a means of obscuring such problems.[37]

The tea-room conduct of Kurimoto Sensei besmirches the reputation of sixteen generations of tea tradition and raises questions about the sustainability of national cultural pride. Tea-rooms are no longer retreats from the worldly pressures of Japanese modernity. Tea-rooms cease to be spaces where the nurturing caress of natural rhythms is offered as a healing balm.

Kurimoto Sensei has turned tea-rooms into battle zones. *Toriawase* becomes a weapon. Tea bowls once owned by Sen no Rikyū are incendiary devices, landmines selected by Kurimoto Sensei to maim her guests. Her *toriawase* refutes the conviction of Kikuji that 'In a masterpiece there is nothing unclean.'[38]

Kikuji is well accustomed to the snarled fog and filthy air that spoils the tea-rooms where Kurimoto Sensei executes her plots. Although Kikuji does not study tea, he recognizes the difference between public allusions to the seasons, Japanese history and geography and those malevolent private allusions made by Kurimoto Sensei calculated to inflict lethal damage:

> 'But what difference does it make that my father owned it for a little while? It's four hundred years old, after all – its history goes back to Momoyama and Rikyū himself. Tea masters have looked after it and passed it down through the centuries. My father is of very little importance.' So Kikuji tried to forget the associations the bowl called up.[39]

In contrast to the grand master model of tea-room harmony, Kawabata presents tea-rooms as spaces where people do not achieve unity in the tea moment. This estrangement is evident, even when Kurimoto Sensei is absent from the free-standing cottage that is the Mitani tea-room: 'His father and his mother and Kikuji himself, he saw now, had each had their own separate thoughts in the cottage.'[40] Overcoming separation between family members of this magnitude requires neutralizing the rank Kurimoto legacy. Dispelling this influence appears to be as impossible as the probability of happy marriage that sustains a stable family life.

After the death of his father, Kikuji feels uneasy when his mother sits silently in the tea-room by herself because Kurimoto Chikako continues to use that tea-room:

> In Kurimoto's hands … everything about *chanoyu* becomes perverted and grotesque. Far from being a ritual acknowledgement of the illusion, tran-

sience and insubstantiality of human existence, the tea ceremony has become for her a very substantial ritual of power and revenge. It provides her with a means of ensnaring others in the dark webs of intrigue she spins as she attempts to bring under her control relationships and objects that have eluded her in the past.[41]

After the end of a brief affair with the father of Kikuji, tea was the initial point of contact that Kurimoto Sensei subsequently leveraged into a lifetime connection with the Mitani family:

For the rest of his father's life, however, Chikako made herself useful in his house. She would come to help in the kitchen when there was to be a tea ceremony and even when ordinary guests were expected ... With Kikuji's family her base, she was modestly successful as an instructor in the tea ceremony.[42]

The legacy of the father is visited upon the son. Kikuji is comfortable in the early post-war period. He lives the bachelor life in a substantial house that has a garden and a tea-room, and has a maid who cleans. Like Kurimoto Sensei, he is inclined to make condescending comments about the maid's lack of comprehension of tea niceties, despite her obvious competence in basic servant duties. Kurimoto Sensei criticizes the maid for her depressing end-of-season selection of fireflies. Kikuji is initially impressed by the maid's combination of a morning glory in a gourd vase, possibly authenticated by the grandson of Sen no Rikyū, Sen Sōtan (1578–1658): 'He had snorted at the association of the two vines, and yet his father's way of living seemed to survive in the maid.'[43]

The Mitani tea-room is equipped with a number of substantial pieces, but it is Kurimoto Sensei who is most familiar with where each item should be stored.[44] In addition to her working knowledge of the Mitani tea-room assets, Kurimoto Sensei apparently has a long-term strategy: 'Kikuji suspected that she knew better than he what was in the collection. Possibly she had already calculated the profits.'[45]

The following catalogue of tea ware is more than an index of the social class of the Mitani family. The presence of historically significant pieces associated with Sen no Rikyū and his lineage brings Kawabata's critique of tea to the question of the grand master system of official taste.

The first weapon in the Kurimoto arsenal is a tea bowl once owned

by Rikyū: 'It was black Oribe, splashed with white on one side, and there decorated, also in black, with crook-shaped bracken shoots … There was something almost weird about the bowl's career.'[46] With this Oribe tea bowl, Kurimoto Sensei is able to humiliate Mrs Ota and her daughter in a manner that is visible to Kikuji. The Kurimoto students did not know the recent history of the bowl: 'It had passed from Ota to his wife, from his wife to Kikuji's father, from Kikuji's father to Chikako; and the two men, Ota and Kikuji's father, were dead, and here were the two women.'[47] Two women: the tea teacher remained antagonistic to the other woman. This triumphant display of a masterpiece from the canon of tea history is a coded reminder to Mrs Ota; Kurimoto Sensei has not forgotten that she was discarded by Mr Mitani after he met the widowed Mrs Ota.

Tea utensils are one of the devices that link characters together in *Thousand Cranes,* and the impact of the pieces that appear in the *tori-awase* of Kurimoto Sensei is the antithesis of the conventional effect of being granted access to the sacred relics cherished by the grand master system. Otherwise innocent utensils draw tea-room guests towards their doomed destinies. Instead of the honour of being associated with the deified saint of tea, Sen no Rikyū, tea ware drags tea-room guests into an emotional hell: 'The blood and poison of human karma, like the tea that symbolizes and substitutes for them, have flowed systematically from bowl to bowl, from person to person, by the same channels and to exactly the same effect.'[48]

The second tea utensil associated with the Rikyū tradition is a flower container, 'a red-lacquered gourd dark with age … On the gourd was a fading lacquer seal-signature, and on its ancient-looking box the mark of the first owner, Sōtan, which, if authentic, would make it three hundred years old.'[49] Kawabata uses the figure of Sōtan to introduce the problem of the value of tea utensils associated with the Sen schools of tea. Authenticity is not something that exists independently of the grand master system. Authenticity is a commodity, a value-added element that can be brought into being through the creation of official Sen school taste.

These grand master schools of tea acknowledge Sen no Rikyū as the beginning of their tradition, and Sōtan (1578–1658) was the grandson of Rikyū.

> With the death of Sōtan, [his son] Kōshin [1613–72] became one of the primary arbiters of value in all things Rikyū-related. This is borne out by the fact that Kōshin attributed forty-two of the objects noted in *Register of Assorted Utensils* to Rikyū. The assumption on the part of tea practitioners that the great-grandson would be able to recognize and discriminate amongst authentic Rikyū relics empowered Kōshin to shape and control his family's material legacy. Even objects that were outside of his immediate purview were affected, in the long run, by this practice. Because tea utensils that bear the certification of Sen tea masters accrued symbolic and economic value with each succeeding generation, those that remained 'uncertified' became, *ipso facto*, less legitimate as a result.[50]

The grand master practice of signing boxes to identify tea utensils as authentic became an act of mutual legitimation between the three Houses of Sen and the other family businesses that made tea ware. Morgan Pitelka outlines the sorts of investments that make the creation of authenticity a possibly dubious venture driven by a network of vested interests:

> What did it mean to authenticate a tea utensil? At one level, the box inscription functioned as a kind of guarantee of quality. It was widely assumed that the *iemoto* was the leading connoisseur of tea utensils, making his written description of an object's provenance equivalent to a pledge of quality. The *iemoto* could also use box inscriptions to construct hierarchies of connoisseurship. His decision to accept or reject a request for a box inscription, and his choice of words, could create standards of taste within the school. When the *iemoto* wrote box inscriptions for objects made by living artists, he was explicitly endorsing their products. Furthermore, authentication of inherited pieces presented the *iemoto* with a powerful means of creating cultural capital for his school. If a tea practitioner brought the *iemoto* a bamboo tea scoop, for example, the *iemoto* might decide that something about its shape 'revealed' it to be the product of Rikyū's hand. Or, if a fine low-temperature, lead-glazed tea bowl was brought for authentication, the *iemoto* might write that it was made by Chōjirō and owned by Rikyū. Such acts were beneficial to both parties. The primacy of the Sen house was reinforced as high-quality tea utensils became associated with Rikyū or Sōtan, and the monetary and symbolic value of the object increased because of its newly 'discovered' history.[51]

Once Kawabata has raised this question of the authenticity of utensils with the appearance of the flower container that may have been once owned by Sōtan, the practice of the Sen grand masters certifying

utensils to increase their value is later taken up by Kikuji. Kikuji unleashes a snide retort to the sustained hostility of Kurimoto Sensei:

> It would be fun to invite all sorts of connoisseurs and use imitation pieces from beginning to end … This cottage always smells of some mouldy poison, and a really fake ceremony might drive the poison away. Have it in memory of Father, and make it my farewell to tea. Of course I severed relations with tea long ago.[52]

The December 1949 writing of Emori Nahoko makes clear how Kawabata uses Kikuji to attack the common sense of the Way of Tea. According to Emori, the category of famous *meibutsu* utensils, venerated by their association with the great tea masters of the past, is essential to the experience of authentic tea pleasures:

> [T]he cult of tea is a method whereby the participants rejoice in their spiritual comradeship … One of the principal objectives, it must be stressed, lies in creating a sense of joy arising from fomenting a spiritual bond and communion between the host and guests, as well as between the guests themselves, who take part in the ceremony, through enjoyment and contemplation of these tea utensils and artistic objects … Such pleasures represent the supreme form of enjoyment reserved only to those participating in a tea ceremony. It thus becomes absolutely necessary that the very best and genuine objects be employed at the ceremony. The question of appraisal, accordingly, precedes that of enjoyment, and the ability to distinguish between the genuine and the false is extremely important.[53]

As Morgan Pitelka has documented, the category of authenticity is not an absolute value, it is more of a value-added service provided by grand masters that results in certain immediate and more long-term benefits for tea grand masters. The provenance of utensils has been used by the Sen *iemoto* to reinforce the status of Rikyū. Such utensils become material evidence that justifies the Senke control of the Way of Tea.

The combination of the flowering vine and the possibly authentic Sōtan flower container reinforces the earlier contrasts between the seemingly immortal pieces of tea ware and their transient owners: ‘In a gourd that had been handed down for three centuries a flower that would fade in a morning … But there was something unsettling in the idea of a cut morning glory.’[54]

In addition to the ceramic ware previously mentioned, the *toriawase*

overseen by Kawabata includes a small scroll by Tawaraya Sōtatsu (d. circa 1643), displayed in the *tokonoma* during summer. Although he makes several claims of his disinterest in tea, Kikuji disagrees with Kurimoto Sensei about the authorship of the accompanying poem.

This exchange is an image of the competitive displays of knowledge that came to characterize public tea displays in the post-war period. Kikuji contradicts the tea teacher's assertion that the poem was written by Minamoto Muneyuki (d. 939). Kikuji duels with Kurimoto Sensei saying that it could equally have been composed by Ki no Tsurayuki (d. 945), who was responsible for the preface of the first imperial anthology of poetry, *Kokinwakashū*. When Kikuji makes such finely tuned distinctions, he is proving that he is capable of acting as a tea culture insider. Such acts of appraisal demand a high degree of cultural literacy, but Kawabata does more than present this discord between Kikuji and the tea teacher as merely distasteful.

Instead of tea being the peaceful exchange of pleasantries blessed by the presence of authentic relics of past glories, it has become a small skirmish between Kikuji and Kurimoto Sensei. The squabble centres on the probable authorship of two poets who have been dead for more than ten centuries. If the date of their deaths is to be given some significance, Kawabata has made an oblique comment by selecting these two men. Muneyuki died one thousand years before the beginning of the Second World War and Tsurayuki died one thousand years before the Japanese surrender. The settled tea-room atmosphere is twice disturbed. The obvious intrusion is the friction that binds Kikuji and Kurimoto Sensei together. This quarrelling is compounded by the jostling of early medieval and modern history. The tea-room is invaded by the reminder of an imperial literature that was appropriated in the fervour of the early twentieth century, with disastrous consequences. The early twentieth century role of grand master tea as cultural nationalism undercuts the post-war mythology of Japanese harmony.

The Sōtatsu scroll calls up the lush visual tradition of the Rimpa school that began with the work of Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637) and Sōtatsu.[55] Unlike the Oribe bowl of Rikyū and Sōtan's lacquered gourd, this Sōtatsu scroll is not obviously linked with the Sen lineage of grand masters. Despite the rejection by Kikuji of the claim that he has tea in his blood, his contradiction of Kurimoto Sensei demonstrates that the

tea knowledge of his father remains a formidable part of his own values.

Tea utensils associated with the Rikyū lineage are a motif that link Ota Fumiko and Kikuji, mirroring the connection between their parents. A matching set of Raku bowls, black as the 'man' tea-cup and the red as the 'wife' tea-cup, strengthens the emotional bond between Fumiko and Kikuji. The possession of such Raku ware aligns the owner with the authentic taste of Rikyū. The ongoing relationship between the Sen grand masters and the Raku lineage is a performative repetition by grand masters of Rikyū as taste-maker:

> According to the shared Sen and Raku mythohistory, Rikyū stumbled upon Chōjirō [active late 1500s], a ceramic tile maker in the employ of the warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–98), and drafted him to create the definitive rustic tea bowl ... For Sen tea masters and tea practitioners, patronizing the Raku workshop represented a reproduction of Rikyū's ostensible patronage of Chōjirō.[56]

Even without the legitimating signature of a grand master on the box of ceramic tea ware, products of the Raku workshop allow their owners and users to identify with the Rikyū lineage.

This matching set of Raku bowls offers a small indication of just how the rich *are* different. Many tea practitioners of the twenty-first century would be shocked by the cavalier attitude of Kikuij: 'If they were by Ryōnyū, one could be a little careless with them. Might they not also have been taken on trips?'[57] Ryōnyū (1756–1834) was the ninth generation of the lineage established by Chōjirō. The idea that tea utensils that were more than one hundred years old could be handled with a casual disregard is an affront to the common sense of contemporary tea practices. This comment by Kikuji functions as a narrative element that anticipates a particular fate for one Shino-style piece.

There are two pieces of Shino ware, and their respective boxes have not been validated by grand master signatures. One is a small but fine water container and the other is a Shino tea bowl. The Shino water container is caught in the complicated network that has drained the innocent joy out of tea-room pleasures: 'A jar that had been Mrs Ota's was now being used by Chikako ... [I]t had passed to her daughter, and from Fumiko it had come to Kikuji. It had a strange career. But perhaps the strangeness was natural to tea vessels.'[58]

When the Shino bowl appears, it is paired with a small Karatsu bowl from northern Kyūshū. This coupling of these two bowls has a very different emotional resonance from the black Raku bowl as the 'man' tea-cup and the red Raku bowl as the 'wife' tea-cup: 'The tea bowls, three or four hundred years old, were sound and healthy, and they called up no morbid thoughts. Life seemed to stretch over them, however, in a way that was almost sensual.'[59] This moment in the novel extends the conventional notion of tea-room unity proposed by Emori:

> Tea-cult … represents a mutual rejoicing in such spiritual bonds of comradeship, in the course of the search for Truth, Good and Beauty, through the works of art placed in the tea-room. For example, if both the host and guests discover in the tea cup, brought into the tea-room by the host, some common element of beauty, the souls of these persons become united.[60]

This optimistic vitality is a marked contrast to the utensils that are associated with the Rikyū tradition of Raku and grand master signatures. Under the polluting influence of Kurimoto Sensei, even masterpieces are contaminated. The summer tea of Kikuji and Fumiko initially transports them away from the complications created by Kurimoto Sensei, as they talk about being at an inn, on a river bank, or near a mountain top.

According to Yoshimura Teiji, *Thousand Cranes* does more than rebuke the claim of the Way of Tea to represent the transience of human and seasonal rhythms.[61] Tea is the locus for piling human guilt upon love. What the novel emphatically denies is the possibility of marital contentment. No character knows the contentment of love. Feelings of affection and satisfaction become twisted kinks that tear at the heart of guilty lovers as the novel moves between tea-rooms and more domestic spaces.

In the midst of these emotional complications that were the consequences of the actions of his father, Kikuji sees the possibility of partial atonement being presented by tea ware. However, tea bowls unblemished by the Kurimoto curse are not offering spiritual salvation. Against the meandering love of his deceased father, Kikuki can see the prospect of an understanding acceptance being presented by tea utensils: 'It wasn't Father's nature to play with tea bowls, and yet he did, and may be they deadened his sense of guilt … But when you see the bowl,

you forget the defects of the old owner. Father's life was only a very small part of the life of a tea bowl.'[62]

Kikuji seeks some respite from being caught in the crossfire of middle-aged women who are using the prospect of his marriage as a means of their self-advancement. The practised hand of Kurimoto Sensei seizes the opportunity of the memorial day commemorating the death of the father of Kikuji. This tea ceremony will be a meeting between Kikuji and one of her more eligible tea students.[63] The image of a whip becomes a motif in the relationship of Kikuji and Inamura Yukiko,[64] suggesting that Kikuji will be unable to avoid the punishment of the interfering Kurimoto Sensei.

Even when the figure of Kurimoto Sensei retreats into the shadows of the background, Kikuji is still not freed from the compounded interest of two generations struggling to preserve their position in the next generation. A degree of redemption from bearing the burden of the conduct of his father comes from tea ware: 'To forgive or be forgiven was for Kikuji a matter of being rocked in that wave, the dreaminess of a woman's body. It seemed that the dreaminess was here too in the pair of Raku bowls.'[65] Despite his efforts to establish a distance from Kurimoto Sensei and the vexing histories that tortured Kikuji and his mother, the prospect of escape remains an illusion. The toxic past has paralysed the present.

Conversations with other tea insiders confirm that an additionally unsettling aspect of *Thousand Cranes* is the fate of the utensils bequeathed to Kikuji by his father. As Kikuji appears to be destined to remain single, the absence of a custodian to inherit responsibility for those masterpiece utensils that have belonged to Rikyū amounts to a most stringent comment on tea. Although Kawabata presents tea as a tradition with no prospects for transmission, there is the possibility that the maid of his father will somehow continue to nurture the tea mode of life.

Kawabata cites two orders that define the rigorous fate of Zen arts, including tea: 'If you meet a Buddha, kill him. If you meet a patriarch of the law, kill him.' 'I shall not take a single disciple.'[66] The first of these two statements recalls the death poem of Rikyū. The second expression of intent confirms Herbert Plutschow's conclusion:

> The *iemoto* system's philosophy of 'imitate the master' and 'do not deviate from the master' would have appalled Rikyū. For Rikyū's approach was

> based on [Zen] Buddhist philosophy, that guides the student to discover his own potential, regardless of how much that discovery may deviate from the master's own approach.[67]

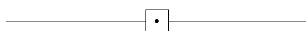
The idea that Zen arts, including tea, encourage students to find their own way is scrutinized in the following chapter's examination of the grand master system, and in a later chapter that addresses the spell Rikyū cast over his followers.

*Conclusion*

This section has given a brief and selective overview of various representations of the grand master system. The concern of Kawabata Yasunari with tea as power is relevant to the later discussion of the figure of Sen no Rikyū in tea films. As the following chapter demonstrates, our more immediate interest is the effect of grand master tea-room power on English tea scholarship.

CHAPTER 7

# TEA TEACHINGS AS POWER: QUESTIONING LEGITIMATE AUTHORITY



> [W]hat makes a reading more or less true is the necessity of its occurrence, regardless of the reader's or of the author's wishes … It depends, in other words, on the rigour of the reading as an argument … Reading is an argument … because it has to go against the grain of what one would want to happen in the name of what has to happen.[1]

> By *faith* is meant not an intellectual assent to, or an unquestioning acceptance of a prescribed code of doctrines and rituals, but a humble openness to an unparaphrasable reality, an openness characterized by vulnerability, dissolution, love, freedom and abandonment. By *power* is meant the desire to assert and create a self in opposition to others, by manipulating others, and by mainly relying on external props and means. This power induces narcissism and diminishes the life-possibilities of others.[2]

*Introduction*

This chapter examines the manner in which Jennifer L. Anderson presents her 1991 claim that tea is not a cult. The intention is to identify the sorts of authority Anderson invokes to sanctify and protect the subject of her text, the grand master system that underpins the international success of the Urasenke school of tea.

In the course of positioning tea as pedagogical power, the external support that endorses her argument with additional authority is made explicit. Scrutiny of the texts Anderson criticizes is used to ask ques-

tions about her description of the Urasenke *iemoto* system and to demonstrate how the institutionalization of tea practice in that grand master system partially compromises espoused tea values. In addition to showing the gap between what is said and done by teachers of tea, I will also argue that the professionalization of tea discourse marginalizes the experience of tea students.

The argument begins by critically reading within *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, reading the text against itself to demonstrate how that text has been shaped by history and power. The 1985 taxonomy of textual strategies proposed by Scholes (reading: reading within a text; interpreting: reading one text upon another text; criticizing: reading one text against another text),[3] alluded to in the opening quotation of Franco and Ramanathan, is adapted to answer questions fundamental to critical pedagogy: Who speaks? On whose behalf? Who is textually silenced?

This is my interim report from the field of tea learning. I write about my experience at the intersection of the corporeal discourses of tea and the critical discourses of analysis. In the course of outlining this juncture, several questions emerged. What sorts of accounts can explain the efficiency of tea pedagogy in transmitting tea values and practices? How are desire, the body and the subjectivity of individual tea practitioners implicated in this transmission of a systematic aesthetic response that has been codified into an orthodoxy? Underlying these questions is the fundamental issue of whether the Urasenke *iemoto* system needs semantic protection. It is around this set of questions that I explore how tea practitioners create their identities, often defined in nuanced opposition to other tea schools.

In terms of the definitions proposed by Franco and Ramanathan, it is my experience that power shapes faith. Anderson is absolutely correct when she argues for the power of the grand master system to influence what orthodox tea people see. For my first decade as a student of tea, I felt the force of the official template when I watched tea being served. When I sit in front of the steaming kettle, the evaluative impulse of some guests is keenly felt. Flowing in and out of the tea moment during the serving procedure, I often silently chide myself for a sloppy execution that subjects the guest to the staccato of a lumpy flow. Occasionally host and guest are happy to sit and share their time together, beyond the territory of appraisal.

Let me emphasize that one of the more long-term pleasures of tea instruction is this submission to authority: the investment of respect for one's immediate teacher, and by extension the teachers of one's teacher, is returned with compound interest. The gift of teacher praise and individual attention accelerates the mastery of more advanced and interesting forms of tea knowledge and performance. In time, tea-room competencies allow students to become players in an economy of mutual respect within their tea community.

If what I have written were to aspire to being a critical and effective history of tea's present, it would hope to draw the reader's attention to the self-presentation by tea's institutional custodians of their tradition as a seamless inevitability. Critical and effective histories explore the triangular relationship between truth, power and the self. Rather than accept what is already known about the past, critical and effective histories of the present question current social arrangements and practices by viewing the domestic past as foreign difference. Critical history denies the legitimacy of grand narratives, including the Enlightenment drive to objective truth, progress and globalization, because they colonize the production of historical knowledge. Effective history interrogates those categories that present themselves as inevitable, natural or neutral. Relevant examples of these categories include the subjectivities of tea practitioners, national identity and cultural traditions: 'An effective history historicizes that which is thought to be transhistorical … [It] refuses to use history to assure us of our own identity and the necessity of the present.'[4]

The notion of cult is relevant to an argument addressing the formation of tea subjectivities because I am interested in how nationally distinctive cultural practices are sustained domestically and transmitted internationally across various media. Tea discourse is a system that offers the pleasures of identifying with sixteen generations of *iemoto* tradition. The gratification of shopping around for tea bowls, scrolls and other elements of tea material culture is compounded by surrendering to a richly textured narrative that exceeds the scale of one lifetime.

Our tea identities are illusions, conjured by the desire to learn and be more than we currently are. Driven by this sense of lack, mechanisms of identification seduce us with the offer of narrow definitions of authentic tea values and practices. These ethical forms are, to varying

extents, then internalized by those true believers who are the legitimate subjects of the tea tradition.

This chapter takes the 1985 conclusion of Robert Kramer as its fundamental assumption. The Houses of Sen have idealized aspects of Rikyū history to consolidate the family business of the Way of Tea tradition.[5] Plutschow reminds us how the Senke monopolies operated: 'These families venerated and even worshipped Rikyū as the ultimate tea authority precisely because he had been dead for over a century and his life and activities were mysterious enough for them to "mould" him to their interests.'[6] Rupert A. Cox identifies the marketing rhetoric that supports these monopolies: 'The *iemoto* replaced the *dō* metaphor, reinventing its religio-aesthetic tradition by treating the transmission of the way as "filiation". Through the metaphor of kinship (*iemoto*), the practice of the Zen arts became constrained within an institutional matrice of power and authority.'[7]

This interrogation of pedagogic authority lays a foundation for a close reading of how the voice-over device is used to comment on tea transmission practices in Chapter 8. Constricted notions of the authentic assume a lethal force for Japanese subjectivity in Chapter 9.

### *One context: teaching and research connected*

The idea for this critique had a modest beginning of the sort that Harding mentions, and with the same orientation towards a claim as the focus of my analysis: 'I usually start with an argument in mind – some view I am criticizing, *not necessarily an individual*, but some assumption or some claim – and develop a little paragraph argument.'[8]

A single paragraph materialized in the course of exploring de Man's assertion about the inevitability of arguments that read texts against the grain of their author's intentions.[9] This idea was refined in the process of developing materials which show Japanese students of academic writing how power circulates around texts. By providing an example of reading a specific text against itself and then criticizing it from outside to show how power and history can shape texts, this chapter uses de Man's notion of rigorous reading to assess Anderson's claim that tea is not a cult. Demonstrations of the discursive formation of Buddhist keywords, emotions and ethics were also instructive.[10]

The two paragraphs from Anderson's book in which she makes this

claim (and are reproduced at the beginning of the following section) initially seemed a simple example of several key points that I thought those Kitakyūshū University students needed to understand if they were to develop the sorts of critical literacies that allow them to identify the assumptions upon which a particular text constructs its common sense.

I have read another text against the grain of its intended reading. The contradiction of trying to limit the possible interpretations of the intended meaning of my own writing is too ironic. However, for the moment, I would like to embrace the doctrine of authorial intent and anticipate any unintentional misreading of this chapter which construes it as a mere personal attack or a reduction of the value of Anderson's comprehensive introduction to Urasenke tea ritual.

As a student of tea practice, I have found Anderson's text to be enormously inspiring as a testament to the notion that culture is something that is learned, lived and loved, and not the sole possession of those privileged with a certain ethnic and/or linguistic birthright. While nominally addressed to the general reader, it is an inspiring piece of scholarship that draws on Anderson's doctoral work in anthropology at Stanford University and upholds the dignity of the Urasenke tradition. As a reader of communication studies and cultural theory, the depth of her scholarship, like the writing of Kondo,[11] has provided me with a concrete example of the sorts of tensions that can exist in English scholarship that represent aspects of Japanese cultural life. In the context of teaching exchange students attending the Kyūshū University programme Japan in Today's World, Anderson's book has been an essential element of my introducing students to the history of tea, how tea is taught inside the grand master system and how the grammar of tea is combined in various configurations.

In addition to writing a very informative book, Jennifer Anderson was also very generous in responding to a series of my email messages. I would be very surprised if Anderson did not think that my questions were deliberately obtuse. Despite probably feeling, with considerable justification, that I was misrepresenting her work, Anderson replied to my drafts in a very open way that suggested a flexible intellect and a great generosity of spirit. This demonstration of tea conduct continues to impress me.

For these reasons I have considered deleting this argument from the

book. While not resolving my personal reservations about certain circumstances of the production of this chapter, I have decided to include it because the focus on narrowly-defined notions of the authentic here support the claims of Chapter 7. As a critical and effective history, examining the grand master system of tea pedagogy and locating it in the context of cultural nationalism is my performance of the 'scrutiny of the improper'.[12] The final justification comes from the practice of reading as an argument. Although I reveal much about my attitudes to certain forms of authority, it is my conviction that the ideological basis of tea discourse is hidden from itself. As an aspiring true believer, for some time I chose not to seek what was obscured. However, certain ideas present themselves with a persistent momentum that cannot be ignored.

### *Read the text so closely it alarms its protectors*

Anderson's argument that tea is not a cult is presented in the following two paragraphs which appear in the endnotes of the final chapter of her 1991 book *An Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*:

> While *chadō* is a form of religious practice, learning tea ritual within the *iemoto* system is distinctly different from joining a religious sect or 'cult.' Tea is a form of Zen based on the fundamental premise that each person must develop his or her own religious convictions on the basis of personal experience. In contrast, most of the groups popularly identified as religious sects (including those of Japan's 'new religions') require converts to accept specific spiritual beliefs on faith.
>
> Some analysts have recently begun to revive the use of the term 'cult' to describe tea ritual (see Kramer 1987, 1988). I feel this is somewhat misleading as both popular and scholarly concepts of what constitutes a 'cult' have changed rather dramatically in the eighty years since Okakura Kakuzo first called *chanoyu* 'a cult founded on the adoration of the beautiful' (Okakura 1956 [1906], p. 3). Therefore, in the interests of academic rigour, I would like to suggest theoreticians refrain from using this emotionally loaded term unless prepared to demonstrate that the *iemoto* and the kinds of organizations recognized as 'cults' today share a significant number of common characteristics.[13]

Anderson's first sentence posits a distinction between learning a religious practice and joining a religious sect or 'cult'. The distinction is

made in terms of whether one develops convictions or simply holds beliefs because they are passed down by office bearers higher up in an organizational hierarchy. What apparently sustains this difference is the context of the former activity within the confines of the *iemoto* system, a 'traditional school of instruction in the classical arts'.[14] In Anderson's text, the *iemoto* system refers to the Urasenke school of tea. Anderson's second sentence emphasizes the agency of those who learn Urasenke tea practices, and in the third sentence this is contrasted with the cult requirement that certain tenets are accepted in a less rational manner.

Based on a close reading of Anderson's first paragraph it is possible to summarize the similarities and differences proposed between learning tea and joining a religious sect. Both activities are comparable versions of religious practice but two key points distinguish them in Anderson's analysis. First, the institutional context of tea pedagogy. Second, the contrast between the rational autonomy of tea practitioners and the centrality of non-rational belief among members of Japan's new religions. Anderson valorizes the learning of tea by expressing its legitimacy in terms of the rationality of its students, and this attribute is implicitly connected with the *iemoto* system. The dialogue of tea practitioners between their experiences and convictions, along the lines of a Zen model, is contrasted with the requirement of accepting certain beliefs at face value, 'on faith'.

My reading of Anderson's two paragraphs suggests two problems. First, despite the meaning of cult in popular and academic discourse not being explicitly defined by Anderson, her argument proceeds by creating a binary division between the *iemoto* system and cults. Second, it is my contention that this binary position is an oversimplification that contains a false dichotomy. To remedy the first shortcoming, an outline of the semantic range of cult is presented early in the chapter to demonstrate the extent to which the second problem has structured a set of contradictions throughout Anderson's text. This tension undermines the distinction she proposes between the Urasenke *iemoto* system and Japan's new religions.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* offers three definitions of cult:

> 1. Worship; reverential homage rendered to a divine being or beings … 2. A particular form or system of religious worship; esp. in reference to its external rites and ceremonies … 3. Devotion or homage to a particular person or thing, now esp. as paid by a body of professed adherents or admirers.[15]

The first two of these three senses are responsibly combined in *The Golden Bough*, where cult denotes the esoteric activities of pre-Christian Greeks and Romans.[16] Unless explicitly stated otherwise, throughout this chapter the term 'cult' will be used as a concept for identifying group identity. The reason for this decision is the third of the OED definitions resonates with Anderson's deification of Sen no Rikyū (1522–91).[17] The professionalization of the professed adherents of the Urasenke *iemoto* system is also relevant to my exploration of the formation of tea subjectivities.

What the OED definition fails to catch is the extent of media obsession with cult-related incidents like the Jim Jones mass suicide and the Sharon Tate murder around the time of Anderson's writing. This sort of sensational coverage will be familiar to anyone in Japan after the sarin subway incident, and Anderson wanted to protect the *iemoto* system from being smeared with these types of sensationalist associations.[18]

Critiques of the rhetorical use of binary arguments are now commonplace in cultural studies, and the binary reduction of complexities has the effect of denying any possibility of similarities existing between the two categories:

> The problem with such binary systems is that they suppress ambiguous or interstitial spaces between the opposed categories, so that any overlapping region that may appear, say, between the categories man/woman, child/adult or friend/alien, becomes impossible according to binary logic, and a region of taboo in social experience.[19]

Anderson acknowledges that learning tea under the grand master model and being a member of a new religion are two activities that both fall under the rubric of religious practice. We are asked to accept that one religious activity is exclusively rational because of a dialectical relationship between experience and understanding in the *iemoto* system. In contrast, other forms of belief are based 'on faith', that is, key tenets are accepted at face value by group members because of their endorsement by the authority of the sect leader. Anderson's first clause acknowledges that the institutionalization of tea study 'is a form of religious practice', and in the following pages of this chapter, Anderson's own text will be made to demonstrate that the unquestioning acceptance of key tenets is a component of learning tea.[20]

Traces of this binary oversimplification are evident throughout Anderson's text. The text itself supplies a significant number of examples of the common characteristics of the *iemoto* system and the kinds of organizations recognized as 'cults'. My intention is to use these examples as evidence which reveals the basis of tea discourse's success in shaping the sensibilities of tea practitioners: the transmission of orthodox doctrines.

The tendencies common to the *iemoto* system and new Japanese religions include mass acceptance of key tenets (indelibly internalized official standards, Rikyū's status as an enlightened aesthete, unconditional acceptance of the grand master's authority and powers). Further, the organizing principle of her 1991 work is predicated on precisely these similarities, and they function to structure a historical narrative that naturalizes the vested interests of the Urasenke *iemoto* system. Anderson's scholarship is shaped by an acceptance of certain specific spiritual beliefs on faith, and by her own definition, this behaviour is characteristic of cult members.

Anderson refers to the internalization by tea practitioners of the grand master's official model of orthodox utensils and flawless performance of tea serving procedures. This model is so pervasive that it mediates the moment-to-moment experience of tea practitioners, even as they are committed to an ideology of the uniqueness of each encounter:

> I cannot emphasize strongly enough that my decision to present a model *chaji* rather than describe an actual gathering is founded on the belief that the model is paramount in the minds of tea practitioners when they attend an actual *chaji*. They are constantly relating their immediate experience to the standards of the tea school.[21]

It is this inculcation of the idealized model of what tea ought to be that has reduced the exhortation '*ichigo ichie*', one chance in a lifetime, which Anderson attributes to Ii Naosuke (1815–60), to little more than a formulaic platitude.[22] This hollowing out of Ii's initially powerful insight is a consequence of the institutionalization of tea practices in the *iemoto* system. In distinguishing between cults and learning tea ritual, Anderson implicitly invoked the authority of the *iemoto* system, but its codification and commodification of tea practices appears to compromise some of the values it is nominally sworn to uphold.

Anderson defines cults as those organizations which require converts to simply accept certain spiritual beliefs as true. The following quotations will show that according to the terms Anderson has proposed, learning tea practices in the *iemoto* system should be considered a cult activity.

The first extract documents Anderson's elevation of a belief held within the Houses of Sen to the status of a fact which she then uses as a device to structure her narrative of tea's history:

> To fully appreciate Rikyū's genius, we must place him in the context of tea philosophy as a whole. I believe this can best be accomplished by treating Rikyū's state of enlightenment *as a matter of historical and ethnographic fact*.[23]

This extract demonstrates that Anderson is requiring readers to accept the spiritual attainment of Rikyū without the customary reference to the rational conventions of academic discourse. This endeavour to legitimate the deification of Rikyū as an article of faith is precisely the sort of strategic manoeuvre that Anderson uses to distinguish Japan's new religions from the supposedly more rational *iemoto* system. This extract has supplied one clear example of the centrality of faith in the learning of tea practice within the *iemoto* system, and contradicts Anderson's attempt to deny the cult status of tea practice because of its purportedly rational relationship between religious experience and understanding. Once again, the clarity of the distinction between tea's *iemoto* system and religious cults appears to be compromised.

What makes this elevation of belief to fact possible is the institutionalization of tea practices in the *iemoto* system. The Houses of Sen construct their administrative authority to profit from the codification and commodification of tea practices by reference to the idealized figure of Rikyū.[24] What makes their reference authoritative is not only their administration of remnants of Rikyū's tea practice that have been appropriated and institutionalized for roughly four hundred years, but the recognition throughout tea-related industries and a general belief held across Japan that this is a valid *modus operandi*. Robert Kramer identifies the central paradox underlying the history that creates the common sense validity of this deference to Rikyū:

> Establishment of a relationship with Rikyū through a series of artistic forbearers was a major preoccupation for those who sought to build a

> following based upon their claim to an authentic representation of the tradition of tea practice ... Constant reference to Rikyū and his activities demonstrated the security of his position and the relative insecurity of those that sought to bask in his aura ... In the many attempts to substantiate claims to orthodoxy in criticism or merely in interpretation of the tea cult, one impression that surfaces is the nature of Sen Rikyū as the shifting, flickering centre. From him is derived the source of legitimacy, to his example is addressed the inadequacies of contemporary practice. Actions and practices are based on knowledge or belief concerning the nature of his practice, even though the substance of that practice is essentially unknowable.[25]

If Kramer's assertion that the substance of Rikyū's tea practice is essentially unknowable is true, this constitutes yet another collapse of the distinction between Anderson's two categories because Urasenke practitioners must simply accept at face value, 'on faith', the pronouncements supposedly made in the interests of Rikyū by the current grand master.

Extrapolating from Kramer's final point, it seems that the much revered four-hundred-year tradition is a piecemeal invention that is remoulded to suit the changing needs of each administration. This strategic combination of omission and emphasis would account for the silently seamless seguing of the use of tea by Japanese ultranationalists during the 1930s to build popular support for the war effort with the current 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea' campaign that Anderson refers to in her 1991 dedication to Hōunsai, Sen Sōshitsu.[26] It is precisely the slippery nature of the Rikyū trope that presents the possibility of a generational renewal of the authentic. This is one mechanism employed by the Houses of Sen to avoid the decline into the fossilized grand narratives of the grand masters.

This deifying of Rikyū is consistent with the deference rendered unto the fifteenth Urasenke Grand Master. The following extract from an earlier article by Anderson again illustrates the contradictory nature of the unwarranted claim that the religious practice of learning tea in the *iemoto* system is a rational endeavour:

> As the grand master, Sen Sōshitsu XV is the ultimate living authority on Tea belief and practice for the members of his school. Accepting his primacy in matters which relate to *chadō* is an inherent aspect of tea school membership.[27]

Given that '*chadō* is a form of religious practice',[28] and the grand master is the embodiment of tea beliefs, Anderson's earlier text does suggest that his authority requires the acceptance of certain spiritual beliefs at face value. Full participation in Urasenke tea pedagogy also requires the acceptance of the grand master's right to exercise certain disciplinary powers that are unenforceable legally but are supported by the weight of Urasenke convention. These include 'the right to allow or prohibit performance and confer instructors's qualifications, to punish or excommunicate those who break the codes, to control equipment and facilities, to dispose of profits and to teach the secrets of the art'.[29] The basis of personal experience still needs an authoritative referee to rule some players offside.

Finally, I would like to address the way in which Anderson's textual representation of her subjectivity is implicated in this attempt to sustain a distinction between Urasenke and Japan's new religions. The following extract suggests a degree of contradiction between the assertion that Urasenke students develop religious convictions on the basis of their own personal experience and their obligatory embrace of orthodoxy:

> As an initiate of the advanced level (*okuden*) of the Urasenke tea school (those of the 'secret' or orally transmitted tea procedures) and an assistant tea instructor, I have accepted an obligation to adhere to the orthodox exegeses of Tea philosophy. This means respecting the interpretations of meaning espoused by my superiors in the school hierarchy as well as their right to dictate goals and procedures.[30]

On the basis of the contents of Anderson's book, it is not clear how this obligation to adhere to Urasenke orthodoxy is different from what happens to less rational souls in Japan's new religions.

In conclusion, extracts from Anderson's own texts demonstrate that the faithful acceptance of certain non-negotiable tenets is a component of learning tea in the *iemoto* system. Based on the previous analysis that read Anderson's text against itself, the distinction proposed by Anderson's first paragraph between the rationality of those who learn tea practices and those who join Japan's new religions is unsustainable. Some readers may conclude that this degree of internal contradiction is inappropriate in a text that makes an explicit appeal to academic rigour.

*How discourse shapes experience in institutional contexts*

Transposing 'a religious sect' for 'a form of Zen' yields the following paraphrase of Anderson's second sentence: Tea is a religious sect based on the fundamental premise that each person must develop his or her own religious convictions on the basis of personal experience.

Despite a contrastive privileging of the *iemoto* system in the first sentence of Anderson's two-paragraph note, what is not made explicit is the fact that the context for this personal experience is an institutional one characterized by the sort of uniform pedagogies and orthodox performances Anderson referred to in justifying her presentation of an idealized model *chaji*.[31]

By omitting the centrality of orthodoxy in the institutional life of the *iemoto* system, Anderson collapses the distinction between '*faith* (an experience of the non-linguistic, undifferentiated transcendence) … and *discourse* (power, practised through linguistic articulation and embodied in institutions)'.[32] However, according to the following series of extracts, Anderson notes that this institutional perspective is so strongly internalized that personal experience is only deemed valid to the extent that it reproduces the official script.

> There is a great deal of consensus among tea practitioners on the way things 'ought to be'. The *iemoto* sets the standards and students uniformly recognize deviations from the norm. Doing something different makes a statement.[33]

This chapter's first section assertion of the extent to which participants in the *iemoto* system are obliged to unconditionally accept certain 'truths' provides a powerful context for Anderson's outline of the success of Urasenke tea pedagogy in transmitting orthodox tea values. In popular usage, the term 'cult' has connotations of mind control and loss of individuality, and this extract raises certain questions that weaken Anderson's attempt to distinguish the knowledge production activities of the *iemoto* system from Japan's new religions. How is this consensus so effectively established? How do individual tea practitioners come to collectively forfeit their private internal aesthetic values and uniformly recognize deviations from the grand master's norm?

On the basis of this Anderson quotation, it would appear that tea students inside the *iemoto* system deeply internalize the official precepts

of their tea school. Anderson would have the reader believe that the rationality of tea practitioners distinguishes them from religious cults, and yet that exercise of rationality is directed towards the formation of a group identity that rests on accepting a prescribed range of spiritual and aesthetic values.

Anderson makes no mention of the sorts of statements made by doing something different. In the context of tea instruction, different actions tend to be interpreted as wrong actions. In the context of private tea play outside the tea classroom, I would like to suggest that different actions could include gentle and/or refreshing aesthetic surprises. These unorthodox combinations of utensils or innovations in tea-serving procedures are explicit challenges to the authority of the grand master to commodify and codify tea instruction and practices. By providing guests with an unconventional delight, the host is also presenting themselves as an individual who has at least temporarily distanced themselves from the group membership provided by orthodoxy:

> This is not to say that guests react to originality in a critical manner. (Though – human nature being what it is – some do.) Most tea people appreciate a little variety, but the truth is that tea people have internalized Tea's symbolic structure: *they cannot avoid employing the cognitive system with which they have been so thoroughly inculcated*, and they are most comfortable with variations that fit into familiar patterns.[34]

The construction of this critical response to originality is an inevitable consequence of the institutionalization of tea orthodoxy. Despite Gengensai's 1872 petition that aspired 'to have people treat another with no distinctions of closeness or distance, wealth or poverty',[35] human relationships inside the grand mastery system are rankings. The demonstration of being a true believer is mediated through a seniority system of sequential membership numbers, and hierarchal relationships between teachers that produces competition inside and between practice groups. The end result is competition, displayed through authoritative mastery of official Urasenke taste.

These social pressures explain why most practitioners are comfortable with established variations. Staying within the official aesthetic parameters naturalizes the established patterns of authority, and negates any necessity to critically assess how the relationship with one's

teacher implicates participants in discourses of power. It also places boundaries on what one is expected to aesthetically know. Instead of the expectation that a tea practitioner have a systematic knowledge of all tea utensils, what is assumed is that practitioners are familiar with the types of work created by the artisans and artists validated by the grand master's *hakogaki*, the practice of signing the lid of a tea utensil box to designate it as a noteworthy example of 'authentic' Urasenke taste. This practice is performed by the grand master for a fee paid by the artist or tea ware's owner and results in the price of the utensil increasing substantially.

The previous two extracts from Anderson have shown something of the *iemoto* system's successful transmission of tea values. The following quotation shows how even the imagination of tea practitioners serves this inculcation, and this contradicts Anderson's characterization of the inherent rationality of those who learn Urasenke tea:

> In fact, when an important symbolic element is lacking, practitioners often intuitively correct for their absence – supplying missing features through their [*sic*] imaginations with the subliminal intent of creating a coherent illusion.[36]

If tea practitioners are the epitome of rationality as Anderson suggests, how do individual students of tea come to intuitively supply those details which confirm to orthodox versions of tea practice? How do the aesthetic preferences of one man come to be so powerfully internalized that practitioners do not see what they see, but instead see what they have been taught to see?

Anderson invokes 'academic rigour' in a strategic move that declares certain representations of the *iemoto* system off limits. By attempting to control any analysis that denaturalizes the authority of the grand master, Anderson's text represents an endeavour to conceal the existence of substantial similarities between the *iemoto* system and Japan's new religions. Once again the implicit dualism of either it is similar to a cult or it is different from a cult is simplistic; a close reading of Anderson suggests that the vested interests of the analyst may result in one category being given more emphasis at the expense of the other. Clearly, the partiality of my reading comes from a one-sided focus on the similarities between tea pedagogy and Japan's new religions.

It would be more accurate to acknowledge that the religious practice of learning tea within the *iemoto* system is both similar to and different

from joining a cult. Instead of simply putting the onus on those who use 'this emotionally laden term', Anderson could have acknowledged the similarities before clearly demonstrating how individuals internalizing a complex series of embodied interactions and developing aesthetic preferences which give them a collective identity within the *iemoto* system is distinctly different from joining a religious cult. That would be in the interests of academic rigour, and would enhance the life-possibilities of individual and institutional participants.

Apart from the unwarranted claim that asserts tea is rational, whereas cults are based on unquestioningly accepting beliefs 'on faith', Anderson presents no evidence how the *iemoto* system differs from Japan's new religions. One implication may be that the difference is merely one of institutional age: a new religion is yet to become a 'tradition' that is powerful enough to have itself officially endorsed as a formidable part of national cultural life. These new religions lack the economic, intellectual and cultural capital necessary for their inscription into national discourse.

The fifteenth Urasenke grand master vigorously positioned Urasenke as the practical synthesis that best represents the diversity of Japanese aesthetic and material culture. As the titles of Sen (1979) and Anderson (1991) attest, the interests of Urasenke are conflated with national identity. *Chado: The Japanese Way of Tea*, with its glossy photographs of the distinctive Urasenke taste could more accurately have been entitled *Chado: The Urasenke Way of Tea*, and Anderson's *An Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual* could have been entitled *An Introduction to Urasenke Tea Ritual*. Publishers often use marketing decisions to select book titles, and two or three decades ago the bottom line of a publisher's profit statement would have been better served by using the word 'Japanese' rather than 'Urasenke' in a tea book title. Despite the national emphasis in their titles, these books contain no photographs of the diversity of Japanese tea culture. They do not introduce elements from Omotesenke, Mushakōjisenke, Sōhen Ryū, Nambō Ryū or any representatives of the *sencha* tradition. These books introduce Urasenke tea culture.[37]

### *Reading against Anderson from outside: Kramer versus Anderson*

This section reads Anderson from outside, and uses the texts she criticizes against her own argument to show the dangers of invoking

academic rigour as a strategic device to declare certain topics off limits. The intended effect is to denaturalize her description of the *iemoto* system, and to use the insights of this section as a context for the chapter's concluding section.

Anderson cites the work of Robert Kramer as an example of the revived use of the term cult to describe tea practices. Anderson's use of 'revive' suggests that the 1906 use of cult by Okakura is acceptable because it precedes the semantic shift in both popular and academic discourse that has made cult an 'emotionally loaded term'. Since 1906, several Japanese writers have used cult to denote tea culture. Fukukita Yasunosuke used cult in the title of his 1934 tea for tourism booklet written in English. Suzuki Daisetsu used cult as a synonym for tea ceremony in 1940, before using cult as a synonym for the Way of Tea in 1942. Writing in English in 1949 Emori Nahiko used cult as a synonym for the Way of Tea.[38] The authentic use of the term cult by these Japanese authors is untainted by the unfortunate associations it has recently acquired, and more importantly, does not impinge the good reputation of the *iemoto* system.

Anderson's bibliography lists two conference papers presented by Kramer, 'The Cult of Sen Rikyū in Tokugawa Japan: Eighteenth Century Interpretations of the Legacy' (1987), and 'Discourse Formation in the Edo Period Tea Cult' (1988). The prominence of cult in the titles of these two papers suggests they are derived from his 1985 PhD thesis, 'The Tea Cult in History'. Considering the close relationship between these two conference papers and Kramer's doctoral work, the absence of his thesis from Anderson's bibliography could be a significant omission.

Advocates for close reading might consider this omission is significant because the second paragraph of Kramer's 1985 doctoral Preface anticipates Anderson's 1991 request for scholarly restraint in the indiscriminate use of cult to describe the *iemoto* system. Six years before Anderson tries to enforce a conditional embargo on the word 'cult' in scholarly discourse, Kramer had already demonstrated a significant number of common characteristics between the tea practitioners in the *iemoto* system, the Christian church in Japan and Japanese underworld crime groups:

> Like the Japanese Christian church and the yakuza or Japanese organized crime organization, it is a marginal social institution whose most closely

> identifiable members participate in an eremitic discourse that is essentially closed to non-cognoscenti. Specialized language, manners and activities exist for these groups. The most dedicated members derive their identity from participation in these organizations. The organization is an entity that exists to promote the members as representatives of its knowledge and practice. Differences between extortion, prostitution, gambling, fortune telling, tea etiquette, Bible study and promotion of Christian values are obvious. The strand that links these social practices is that all are activities promoted from well organized and well financed corporate bodies that exist because of the mutual support that members derive from their association.[39]

The analysis of the first section of this chapter, entitled 'Read the text so closely it alarms its protectors', argues that Anderson does not adequately establish the distinction between the *iemoto* system and cults. In contrast, Kramer posits an explicit definition of cult resting on group membership being identifiable on the basis of shared language, manners and activities that tend to be incomprehensible to outsiders. By providing an account of how the *iemoto* system resembles marginal social groups like Japan's new religions, in 1985 Kramer has already satisfied Anderson's 1991 conditions for the reasonable use of cult.

Kramer's use of cult is not the emotionally loaded slight that Anderson's second paragraph suggests, and Kramer's use of the term is typical of how it has been applied across disciplines ranging from anthropology to cultural studies. Reasonable scholars in these fields have found this concept useful in addressing how registers of language, activities, and relationships are manipulated in the construction of group identities and shared understandings within the boundaries of those group identities. In light of the moderate tone of Kramer's remarks in his Preface, it appears unreasonable of Anderson to request a conditional embargo on the term merely because of semantic shifts in popular and academic discourse. Readers can glean from a text's multiple contexts (the type of publication, the sentences in question, the author's apparent intentions) enough clues to determine which register is being used, and make their own judgement about the extent to which a particular term is being used in an emotionally loaded deviation from academic responsibility.

Later in his doctoral Preface, Kramer explains why he selected cult as his preferred term:

> I have chosen the expression 'tea cult' over 'tea ceremony' for simple but, I feel, important reasons. Either expression – overused in the context of political, religious and ritual affairs – can bear the weight of the diverse practice that I describe in this text. However, the tea ceremony has come to represent the very simple fifteen or twenty minute performance in which a single bowl of tea is prepared in a solemn and dignified manner and consumed in relative silence ... The foreshortened 'ceremony' is not without significance, but the abbreviated nature of this most commonly repeated aspect of tea has too often been assumed to be the sole action and purpose of the art of tea. For this reason, I have chosen to refer to the cult of tea or the tea cult.[40]

This justification appears innocent enough. However, there is another agenda here, and the core of this concern is tacitly addressed by Anderson and explicitly structures the analysis of Kramer. What is at stake in the contestation around the suitability of cult as a term to describe pedagogical life inside the *iemoto* system is the status of the institutional guardians of tea practice. It is at this point that the subtext of Anderson's strategy to limit interpretations of Urasenke pedagogy becomes the text of Kramer's incisive account of the discursive uses of history by the Houses of Sen.

I have argued elsewhere that the texts of English language tea scholars like Anderson and Barbara Lynne Rowland Mori endeavour to serve two masters: the academy and Sen Sōshitsu XV.[41] It is hardly surprising that research made possible by the sponsorship of the current grand master has a tendency to accept and reinforce the grand narratives of the *iemoto* system. The following paragraphs outline the textual consequences for readers of these seminal texts which naturalize certain aspects of the *iemoto* system. This line of analysis will then be contrasted with Kramer's rigorous reading of Urasenke's appropriation of the historical record.

In Anderson's explanatory text, sponsorship by the grand master simply means that the reader is treated to an almost official introduction to one particular brand of tea culture: 'Urasenke is the largest tea school in Japan and the most accessible to non-Japanese. My informants are almost exclusively members of that structure. We share its values, symbolic language, and practical lore.'[42] Anderson's scholarship is a powerful outline of Urasenke tea values and how they structure behaviour in tea-rooms. Given the patronage relationship existing behind the deeply grateful tone of the dedication and acknowledg-

ments, the absence of any identification of non-correspondences between official values espoused (what is said) and actual values in use (what is done) appears to be an almost inevitable silence.

What appears as mute silence in Anderson's text becomes audible in Mori's text, entitled *Americans Studying the Traditional Art of the Tea Ceremony: The Internationalizing of a Traditional Art*. Mori is concerned with the national and international transmission of Urasenke tea culture, and prospectively addresses the sorts of problem the current administration may face in using the global 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea' campaign to spread this tightly held family business of tea culture across the world. This orientation to Urasenke's future in the real world contrasts with Anderson's unproblematic concern with sharing the depth and meaning of the tradition. The disembodied analytic voice of the conclusion's final paragraph proves to be the one space from which Mori can serve the best interests of her two textual masters:

> If *chadō* is dependent on the *iemoto* system and the *sempai-kōhai* [senior-junior] relationship pattern for its perpetuation, this will not be a problem in Japan but will be a major obstacle to its survival outside of Japan if non-Japanese support is necessary for its propagation. Over time this aspect of *chadō* relationships will either be replaced with structures which non-Japanese are willing to learn and transmit or the nascent development of non-Japanese teachers leaving Urasenke to begin their own organization will be intensified. Unless there are changes in the appeal to non-Japanese abroad, Urasenke supported groups will diminish when Japanese and Japanese-Americans do not constitute the majority of group membership. While Urasenke has been successful in establishing overseas groups under its control, it is not yet clear that these groups have the ability to sustain and perpetuate themselves without direct support from Kyoto.[43]

Choices are always present for the creators of texts.[44] The above extract demonstrates that appropriate criticism of the institutionalized present, however veiled in the speculative projections of the second and third sentences, is sometimes possible. Mori goes so far as to use anonymous first person quotations to document the tension between institutional rhetoric and actual experience inside the intensive Urasenke programme for non-Japanese, Midori Kai:

> 'This is not tea' I thought. 'This is war, a constant battle among people in the group. Tea is people to people. This is every man for himself,' reflected

> a Japanese-American student upon completing her third year in the programme.[45]

While knowing the probable long-term implications and personal consequences of her analysis, it cannot have been an easy decision for Mori to chose between the authority of research responsibilities and the traditional authority of the *iemoto* system as she made these sorts of observations. The Mori decision to speak truth to power clearly documents that the institutional climate of tea instruction falls short of the austere ideals outlined in the 1872 Gengensai petition.

This brief survey of the benefits and constraints of *iemoto* patronage suggests that Anderson's text constitutes a stronger version of the tendency to justify the interests of the Rikyū system than that of Mori. While the histories of both texts naturalize the grand narratives of the grand masters, Anderson's examination of the question of how current organizational conditions can be improved at the institutional level concludes by merely emphasizing the necessity of the present arrangements. In contrast, these unproblematic approaches highlight how Kramer's use of cult reinforces his nuanced reading of the history of the Houses of Sen as 'organizations [which] have built their reputations upon a tissue of idealized representations of the historical record'.[46] The prestige of the Houses of Sen has been achieved through a strategic combination of omission, emphasis and simplification; this is tradition as an invention to suit the needs of the current generation.[47]

While Anderson's view, both constrained and privileged from her Kyōto associations with the grand master, does acknowledge a range of negative perceptions of tea practice,[48] the current problem of the distance between tea's values and its institutionalized practices appears to be hermetically sealed in the past. A parodic account of a tea gathering attributed to Matsudaira Fumai (1751–1818) identifies the contradiction between pretension and the rhetorical valuing of simplicity, and Anderson suggests this gap has continued to exist from Rikyū's age into an unspecified present.

While my analysis centres on the administration's need to utilize the insights offered by critical pedagogy, Anderson employs a soft form of reflexivity. The responsibility for shortcomings like the abuse of tea as a normative system is generally laid on individual practitioners. In the subsection entitled 'The Utility of Family-dominated Tea Schools'

there is some consideration of the possibility that the professionalization of tea could be improved to overcome some of the failure of tea practice to embody its ideals.[49] Questions of 'whether these [structures] are maximally functional … and whether there are alternative models for various professional practices'[50] are addressed from the perspective of the system of tea transmission. However, rather than exploring different ways of inhabiting professional practices and tea spaces, the end result is a confirmation of the *status quo*.

One silence of Anderson's analysis is its failure to take into account how the success of tea's transmission results in a contradiction of its expressed values. Given the fact that tea students 'cannot avoid employing the cognitive system with which they have been so thoroughly inculcated',[51] end users might like to be able to enjoy the moment without the intrusion of the official model validating their experience. The interests of consumers of tea knowledge are discounted against those of the tradition's producer, and this is a consequence of the professionalization of tea discourse:

> When experts voice their version, the dialogue becomes asymmetrical in the sense that those unacquainted with these professionally crafted versions will get marginalized.[52]

The experiences of tea students are made mute by Anderson's institutional concerns. Anderson's answer to the following two questions is flawed by a circularity:

> (1) Is a central authority structure prerequisite to the perpetuation of *chadō*? And, (2) Must this authority be vested in a hereditary form of leadership? My research leads me to believe the answer to both questions is 'Yes, if tea ritual *as we know it* is to survive.'[53]

Changing the structure that transmits tea values will obviously change that transmission. The point of my argument is that tea ritual as an end user knows it is less than what it could be, and to frame the problem in terms of the necessity or otherwise of a central authority structure with a hereditary leadership misses the point. Mori's sub-section called 'Internal Control' implies a need to a reassess the use of competitive relationships inside Urasenke as a personnel management technique.[54] The almost combative uses of impenetrable tea discourse at the displays of orthodoxy called *benkyō kai* appear to be the antithesis of the hospitality impulse that tea rhetorically embraces.

Instead of newcomers being made to feel welcome at a public tea gathering, they are often presented with the challenge of trying to communicate in the highly codified manners of tea. After leaving such a public tea gathering and returning to the waiting-room, it is not uncommon to hear one teacher speaking curtly to their students, criticizing the lapses of tea etiquette made by the host or the less-than-ideal combination of utensils which the grand master has approved. The most common defensive ploy when the *toriawase* combination of utensils is criticized is to assume the frugal position, justifying the selection with the logic of using what is available.

Anderson attributes the 'unprecedented atmosphere of openness in *chanoyu*' that crosses boundaries of gender, age, social class and nationality to the phenomenal efforts of the fifteenth Grand Master.[55] At the organizational level, however, the situation is more complex. Mori identifies the existence of cultural chauvinism as a major obstacle to the idea that non-Japanese can make a meaningful contribution to tea life beyond being used to put a foreign face on Japanese cultural practices.

> The Urasenke *iemoto* is an exception to this. He views the inclusion of non-Japanese as essential to maintaining the vitality of *chado* and to extending it beyond the borders of Japan. Although his encouragement of non-Japanese participation is not openly challenged, neither is it wholeheartedly accepted by all members of the school.[56]

While the existence of resistance throughout the organization undercuts claims of the feudal nature of Urasenke tea, Anderson's unqualified endorsement of the grand master does hint at a complicated situation with its own characteristic whiff of cultural chauvinism. The following section addresses possible directions the *iemoto* system could explore in addressing the needs of its students while maintaining the integrity of its tradition.

## *The hard reflexivity of future tea*

While this analysis has been motivated by 'the critical requirement that reading should proceed in accordance with the best, most exacting criteria of logical accountability',[57] it shares something of Mori's orientation to future tea practice and the reflexivity of Anderson. As a

student of tea, I feel tension between the institutionalized pedagogy which serves its own interests by using a discourse of lifelong study to prevent students from 'graduating' and an ambition I naively held until about a decade ago: a wide-eyed impulse to be able to perform my 'own' tea. Reading tea transmission practices from the literature of critical pedagogy, this tension is most apparent in two curriculum-related points.

First, the rhetoric of 'Japan has four seasons' is used to justify the teaching of seasonal *temae* procedures (including the *araijakin* serving procedure during the hottest month of summer, and the *tsutsu chawan* serving procedure that uses a tall narrow bowl during the coldest month of winter) only during those seasonally appropriate times. From my experience, this arrangement of the tea curriculum meant it took me three years of practice before I felt confident enough to perform these *temae* which are more interesting for guests.[58] Anderson invokes this discourse of lifelong study to account for this pedagogical convention:

> Nothing is taught out of the season in which it is actually performed. This means that the time for practising a certain variation may pass before the student has mastered it – frustrating to beginners, but logical seen in the context of a lifetime study.[59]

I would like to suggest that this is a logical arrangement for a system that is organized to perpetuate its own authority, relative to those who receive its imprimatur. Implicit in this idea of lifetime study is an immutable hierarchy of those who teach and those who listen. This reinforcing of the indelible nature of those status differences inside the *iemoto* system pervasively mediates the experience of being a tea practitioner.

A more systemic example of this lifelong study discourse is the exhortation to return to the most basic *temae* procedures to once again learn the whole sequence of tea practices:

> After learning more advanced techniques of making tea, experts repeatedly return to the study of *hirademae* [the most basic presentations of thin and thick tea for either *ro* or *furo* season] to polish and refine their style.[60]

If students have passed through the various levels of accreditation, they have presumably mastered the fundamental grammar of tea practice. In a pedagogical system more orientated to equipping students

with the means to make a productive contribution to tea life, one might expect a less stringent emphasis on merely reproducing the established vocabulary of the grand masters. It is this failure by generations of tea administration to delegate to individual practitioners the means to walk down their own way of tea that produces criticisms of ossification.

While I am grateful that Urasenke's success in transmitting core tea values makes it possible to receive uniform tea instruction throughout Japan and beyond its national borders, the degree of curriculum control necessary to sustain this institutionalization does seem to occasionally deny the possibility of other ways of being a tea practitioner, and serves institutional interests ahead of the needs of learners. This is a consequence of a pedagogic emphasis on form which in turn produces formulaic sensibilities which are content to remain tethered to orthodoxy:

> For a small minority of dedicated performers, the tea-room is an infinitely malleable environment where they can produce quite magical events. The magic that is all but absent from the rule bound forms of the institutional practice still resides in the dedicated practice that destroys or abandons conventions even while conforming to their basic outlines.[61]

It is ironic that the spirit of a number of tea practitioners that includes Rikyū, whose collective efforts established the roots of what we can now conveniently call *wabi cha*, lies in disregarding the sedimentary formalization which has been conducted by those who have embellished their reputation by reference to the spectre of his achievements.

My experience as a provincial consumer of tea knowledge suggests that the challenge facing the international transmission of tea values is more fundamental than Mori's structural concern with the *sempai-kōhai* relationship pattern within the *iemoto* system. As Anderson's own text attests, current tea pedagogy has been very successful at inculcating fundamental tea values, patterns and preferences. What is needed now is a more self-confident administration that encourages tea life without the paralysing insistence on orthodoxy, and a more curatorial selection and combination by private practitioners from the diverse offerings of tea's *macha* and *sencha* custodians. This rejection of tea brand loyalty will provide participants with the focus necessary to remain in the moment without constantly mediating their experience through the authoritative filters of *iemoto* orthodoxy.

These proposals for the future development of tea are tempered by the realization that:

> we are part of what we oppose: we are historically, socially, and emotionally entailed in it, and we can only come to terms with that entailment if we first recognize it. This is a hard reflexivity.[62]

By way of acknowledging my historical, social, and emotional investments in researching the connection between authentic performance, desire and the body in tea pedagogy, tea has provided me with a range of psychological, domestic and professional utilities. The spectacle of someone like me taking pot-shots at orthodoxy from an anonymous position of safe privilege looks cheap when compared with the compassionate social orientation of rescuing religious meaning from 'the hardening of discourse into orthodoxy'.[63] In the comfort of my own tea practice which is structured in part by critical discourses of analysis, I aspire to something more modest than the orthopraxis defined by Franco and Ramanathan: an occasional hint of spontaneous tea spirit, rather than the embodied repetition of prescribed routines.[64] By outlining the mechanics of how groups manipulate desire to create members, there is a need for more reflective writings that identify at what points a more productive internalizing of tea values as a mode of one's own consciousness becomes possible.

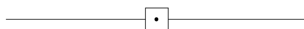
*Conclusion*

My concern has been to demonstrate the extent to which personal experiences are institutionally shaped along the lines of those orthodox definitions which constitute tea life. I extend the interpretation of tea history as national play advanced in Chapter 2 to lift the veil of neutrality from the authority of tea pedagogy. In the context of the overall argument of this book, I perform a critical and effective history which marked the power of institutions to control the perceptions and conceptual frameworks of its subjects. Although tea and Zen are argued by many to be unified, and despite the Zen emphasis on having your own experience, life inside the grand master system does not necessarily make it easy to find your own way. As an authentic student of tea, I pay to be taught. I pay to be taught what

to see: I see what I am taught. This interest in the desire to be legitimated by institutional definitions of the authentic is visited again in the close readings of structural devices in Chapter 9.

CHAPTER 8

# TESHIGAHARA'S *RIKYŪ* AS HISTORICAL CRITIQUE: REPRESENTATIONS, IDENTITIES AND RELATIONS



> Every time one sees a film, although it seems as if that experience is autonomous (a private relation between the spectator and images projected on the screen), the experience exceeds itself. It is about the social as much as the individual; about the public just as much as the private. It is ideological. In fact, just as Sohn-Rethel argued that the very exchange act crowds out the possibility of thinking the various relations of money within the social totality, the very act of viewing the film crowds out the possibility of tracking how the grammar affects everyday perception and behaviour.[1]

> The *rekishi-eiga* [history film] must dedicate itself to the preservation of the Japanese past by building it into a new art form. The *rekishi-eiga* will then serve the function of training the people in that Culture of Feeling which is our special heritage.[2]

*Introduction*

This reading of a tea film proceeds in two steps: one that identifies the various genres configured by Teshigahara's film, and the second stage reminds the reader that these genres reinforce this modernist film's presentation of one patriarch as the authentic source of tea values and practices. More than lifting the veil of neutrality from

the authority of tea pedagogy, the tendency of communities to assert their status as inevitable and unchanging facts of social life is examined. Films dealing with representative icons who embody key national traits provide viewers with the opportunity to consider their relationship to 'tradition'.

### *The film* Rikyū *as a considered historical intervention*

Teshigahara presents certain incidents from the life of Sen no Rikyū, 1522–91, as being implicated in nationalist discourses of tradition and other processes that reduce Japanese culture to rules and products. Before Rikyū, traditions of codified tea practice already existed and tea was clearly associated with political and military power. Written historical accounts qualify the celebration of Rikyū's aesthetic genius in tea anecdotes. Teshigahara's treatment of the oral and written registers of history interacts with issues of representation: the film itself acts as an authoritative source of tea knowledge; and the film represents tea as a 'cultural sacrament'[3] located at the nexus of military, commercial and aesthetic authority. This discussion is framed in terms of how the values communicated by the film support the construction of a certain range of viewing identities for its audiences.

### *Written history: qualifying the legendary status of Sen no Rikyū*

Two representations of the life of Sen no Rikyū present different tales. The scholarly historical record demonstrates that tea was situated in discourses of economic, military and aesthetic authority. More anecdotal accounts circulate around sites of official tea pedagogy which emphasize the aesthetic aspects of Rikyū's life while neglecting to mention his commercial activities and military responsibilities.

The work of Kuwata demonstrates that Rikyū's duties as 'The Tea Master of Japan', *tenka gosadō*, included taking custody of Osaka Castle as *Rusu* while Hideyoshi was absent in August 1585 and being informed of secret military and political matters.[4] Bodart uses the scholarship of Kuwata Tadachika as the primary source for her investigation of the tea-room politics established during Oda Nobunaga's regime and continued under Toyotomi Hideyoshi's direction.[5] *Teihon Sen Rikyū no Shokan* (1971) surveys the contents of more than two hun-

dred and sixty of Rikyū's letters which document *chanoyu seidō*, the political use of tea by Hideyoshi. Extracts including the following example from Rikyū's letter to the general Shibayama Gennai on Tenshō 13 (1585).8.22 that record his need to be 'kept informed of the state of the vanguard of the army'[6] clearly establish the extent to which an extremely selective imagination is required to conjure this apparition of Rikyū as a pure aesthete.

In addition to the documentary evidence assembled by Kuwata that proves Rikyū used tea for commercial, political and military objectives, Watsky's reference to the 1575 letter from Oda Nobunaga thanking Rikyū for supplying him with a thousand bullets during an Echizen campaign confirms that Rikyū's attention was not confined to celebrating Japan's four seasons.[7]

Watsky offers a powerful retort to another element of Rikyū's reputation that is conventionally used to justify his deification: his status as the patriarch of tea discourse. Watsky's focus on the activities of Imai Sōkyū, 1520–93, reveals that Sōkyū was extremely successful at using tea for other than aesthetic ends while Nobunaga was his patron. According to the assessment of his contemporaries, the merchant tea master Sōkyū was held in higher regard than Rikyū. This documented interpretation of Sōkyū as a role model for Rikyū is a significant challenge to the notion that Rikyū should be regarded as being the inventor of tea as we now know it.

Taken collectively, the work of Bodart and Watsky suggests that the status of tea practice and Rikyū as its nominal custodian are intimately related to a narrative of national consolidation. Watsky's scholarship demonstrates that tea was implicated in the invention of a national identity during the time of Nobunaga. The spectre of Rikyū and the idea of a modern Japanese nation have been apparitions that have conjured each other. The construction of Rikyū's persona has been significantly shaped by the Houses of Sen as one way to justify their administration of 'authentic' tea practice and pedagogy. In addition, the 1872 petition by the eleventh Grand Master of Urasenke, Gengensai, reinvented the Way of Tea as an agent of the State. In positioning tea as a social technology with an explicitly ideological content, his *Chado no Gen'i* (Basic Principles of the Way of Tea) pleaded with the Meiji government not to 'classify tea as mere pastime or enjoyment'.[8] After the Gengensai petition, the subjectivity of tea-room practitioners

was brought into alignment with the wider story of national development.

Given the social nature of performances of tea knowledge, it is extremely unlikely that one man single-handedly produced the most significant innovations. A more probable scenario is that a group of practitioners worked with a spirit of competitive cooperation. Tea-room practices would have been a hybrid development in this collective enterprise. Later in the career of Rikyū, when he had the authority to define the ultimate meaning of tea, his innovations were considerable. This conception of tea's development requires a retreat from the Rikyū-as-aesthetic-genius model, and it accommodates Watsky's testimony that during 'the Nobunaga era, however, Sōkyū's career was the measure of success'.[9]

This idea of collective improvization also takes account of the aesthetic precedents of tea, including adaptations of earlier Chinese aesthetics, the cross-fertilization of tea values by emerging poetry practices (*waka*, linked verse and noh), and the activities of other members of Sakai's merchant class who had a direct influence on the young Rikyū. The following paragraphs suggest something of the complexity of tea's development, and in so doing highlight the degree of simplistic reduction required to celebrate Rikyū's sixteenth-century activities in tea anecdotes.

Ludwig attributes the introduction of the formal *daisu* tea stand from China in 1267 to Nampō Jōmyō who established Sūfukuji in Hakata.[10] The shelf was stored there until it was sent to Daitokuji's Musō Kokushi (1275–1351).[11] Ludwig notes that this movement identifies Zen priest Musō as the man who made a notable contribution to the spiritual role of Japanese arts:

> Musō, who as influential adviser to the Hojo regents, Emperor Go-Daigo 後醍醐, and finally Ashikaga Takauji 足利尊氏, and also as a founder of Tenryūji and other temples, did much to gain for his school of Zen Buddhism a favoured place at court and among the military rulers … Furthermore, as a distinguished artist, he did much to shape the emerging religio-aesthetic synthesis, providing a distinct and pervasive Zen-Neo-Confucian impetus to the practice of the arts in Japan.[12]

Tea etiquette was already complex enough during the reign of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu (1358–1408) – more than a century before the

birth of Rikyū – to require professional specialists called *dōbōshū* to serve tea according to the Ogasawara tea code.[13] In the apparent absence of clearly decisive documentation Hickman tentatively suggests that one Tanaka Sen'ami, who may have been Rikyū's grandfather, prepared tea for Ashikaga Yoshimasa (1436–90) in this capacity.[14]

Innovations in tea practices were influenced by developments in the conventions of noh (*yugen*) and the linked verse *renga* tradition (*hie* and *kare*) that resulted in their incorporation into the rhetoric of the *wabi* aesthetic and *sōan* grass-hut tea culture. In the popular imagination, *wabi* is generally associated with Rikyū, but Anderson credits Murata Shukō (1421?-1502) with introducing *wabi*-style tea and employing 'concepts of "chill" (*hie*) and "withered" (*kare*) [to suggest] an aesthetic that created an atmosphere of profound subtlety (*yugen*)'.[15] The grass-hut practices of Shukō (also read Jukō) were maintained after his death. Imai Sōkyū's father-in-law, Takeno Jōō (1502–55) brought Shukō's *wabi*-style tea to Sakai and Rikyū became Jōō's student.[16] Jōō drew from *renga* a concern with '*ichiza*', one sitting, emphasizing the social aspect of host-guest interaction.[17] Jōō took from the Sasamegoto of Shinkei the idea that *renga* was 'not the art of composing poems, or verses of a poem, but a spiritual exercise to penetrate the talent and vision of another … [a] way to experience the indecipherable meaning of others'.[18]

This brief overview of tea history hopefully suggests something of the complexity of tea's history. It is this complexity which leads Cadwallader to conclude that 'chanoyu underwent extensive changes in a very short time, and what was true in the late Muromachi period, the early Momoyama, the period of Rikyū's influence, and the period after his death were as different as chalk and cheese'.[19] Against these continental and literary elements of tea's heritage, it is improbable that one individual was exclusively responsible for unifying these convoluted aesthetic elements from noh and linked verse. Even in an era characterized by an intense centralization of power, the formation of a community of tea manners suggests that the participation and reactions of other tea men would have been an important component of evaluation by a leader such as Rikyū.

The scholarship of Dale Slusser offers an alternative to the great-man-in-history model that has tended to neglect the social status of

Rikyū and the collective role of a tea community in the transformation of sixteenth-century tea practice. As the previous paragraphs suggest, developments in *sōan* grass-hut tea culture did not begin with Rikyū:

> In the latter half of the fifteenth century the new grass-hut mode of tea culture was practised primarily by rich merchants, and these men formed a group which functioned in many ways like an elite club … The practice of grass-hut tea was removed from the exclusive control of elite warriors, so that the relationships of domination within grass tea-hut culture no longer strictly paralleled those outside the field but instead followed a relatively autonomous principle of hierarchization … it must be realized that the practice of the grass-hut mode of tea culture was required for dominance *within the field* of tea culture, while at the same time this mode opposed the dominant hierarchy of the military lords *outside the field* of tea culture … The imposition of a definition of the legitimate mode of tea practice requiring proficiency in the procedures granted experts control over the bodies and thus the beliefs of all who practised the art. The appeal to a higher aesthetic ideal was in fact a struggle by elite merchant tea practitioners to employ a potent means of social control.[20]

Slusser demonstrates that tea innovations were more than individual manipulations of the aesthetic sphere. This positioning of tea as a class-specific social struggle lurking in the subconscious of tea-room harmony is one tension driving the plot of the Teshigahara film.

It is easy to assert that as the designated first practitioner of an important cultural practice, Rikyū had the authority to determine what was acceptable as tea innovation. A more nuanced speculation would be to acknowledge the existence of a tea community. Members of this community spoke and performed the language of tea. In their collective interactions innovations were made, before being assessed and celebrated or discarded. Such give-and-take between these merchant-tea masters employed by Hideyoshi tends to be under-reported in grand master narratives that focus on Rikyū.

The example of Musō indicates that there was at least one precedent for the coupling of tea with political and military power prior to Rikyū, and the tendency – popular with some of my fellow Urasenke students of tea – to associate the *daisu* stand with Rikyū's version of tea understates the complexity of its movement from China via Hakata to Daitokuji. Erasing this movement can perhaps be explained by his 'recommendations regarding the proper use of the *daisu*'[21] in a purported

facsimile of the *Kissa Nampōroku* which appeared in 1686. However, Sen Sōshitsu notes that Murata 'Jukō came to use the *daisu* from the Shōfukuji in Hakata in his tea service. Both Nōami's *Kundaikan Sōchōki* and Sōami's *Okasarisho* mention it, and it was probably Jukō who first used it to hold the utensils for his preparation of tea.'[22]

The reductive simplification of tea history by tea tales brings the achievements of Rikyū into the foreground. This simplification is most obvious in tea-room anecdotes that deify Rikyū. This erasure of the complexity of tea history renders invisible the formative influence of Chinese secular, offertory and commensal tea rituals, and devalues the contributions of Rikyū's contemporaries.

Hobsbawm's notion of invented tradition is useful in explaining the distance between the written scholarly record of Rikyū's use of 'aesthetic means to achieve decidedly non-aesthetic ends'[23] and Rikyū's subsequent veneration in anecdotes that elide his political, military and commercial applications of tea:

> 'Invented tradition' is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.[24]

Kramer explores the idea that the invention of historic continuity is often an integral component of sustaining an invented tradition.[25] Genealogical reference to Rikyū as the ideal Person of Tea by Urasenke, Omotesenke and Mushanokōjisenke is a fundamental technique for creating their authority to sell this cultural practice. These closely held family businesses position themselves as repositories of high culture by creating a discourse of authenticity. The three Houses of Sen benefit economically from the dissemination of their particular brand of tea culture while invoking the spirit of Rikyū which they create in their own image. When Anderson asserts that '[t]o fully appreciate Rikyū's genius, we must place him in the context of tea philosophy as a whole',[26] the grand master system has played a major part in the formation of that context. The *iemoto* system has therefore exercised its vested influence on current understandings of Rikyū.[27]

The writings of Anderson and Cadwallader exemplify how an insti-

tutionalized perspective can valorize a particular vision of Rikyū. As the following extracts show, their work is both an explanation of that version of history and an example of how this persuasion operates by a selective silencing of dissonant 'facts'. The key strategic move is to insist on an impermeable distinction between Rikyū's aesthetic achievements and the manner of his death.

> Rikyū was not martyred. More likely, he was sacrificed to the totalitarian objectives of a tyrannical regime.
>
> Rikyū's preeminence should not, however, be attributed exclusively to a misadventure with sixteenth century power politics. The *samurai* elite retained many tea practitioners and more than one died for apparently unjust reasons. Yamanoue Sōji (1544–1590), for example, was brutally executed by Toyotomi Hideyoshi in 1590 and Furuta Oribe (1543–1615) was required to commit *seppuku* by Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1615. Though both men were tea masters of great repute, neither attained a posthumous status even approaching that popularity accorded Rikyū. This suggests the latter is principally venerated for his unparalleled contribution to *chadō* [and] not for the dramatic mode of his demise.
>
> Most scholars and tea practitioners accept the premise that Rikyū significantly altered *chadō*. Controversy develops only when a discussion is confined to the precise nature of the great tea master's legacy. The problem is that, in the best Zen tradition, Rikyū personally recorded very little pertaining to either his philosophy or his practice.[28]

There are two significant silences in this extract, and they both impinge upon the pragmatics of tea's transmission in an institutional context. The grand master system is characterized by orthodoxy, a hierarchal system of licensing, and the power to pronounce what is and is not tea.

First, while Anderson mentions elsewhere that the historical rise of the ancestor cult gave the Houses of Sen 'a mechanism still effective in nurturing the Sen family's identification with their famous forebear',[29] here she is mute on the role of the *iemoto* system in elevating the role of Rikyū above his predecessors (Nampō Jōmyō, Musō Kokushi, Murata Shukō), his contemporaries (Takeno Jōō, Yamanoue Sōji, Furuta Oribe), and those that followed him.

The veneration of Rikyū has been a key strategy of the vested interests of tea's institutional gate-keepers. It is this institutionalization that has helped create the significance of Rikyū's contribution to tea's

orthodoxy; in turn, the Houses of Sen have reinforced their own status by emphasizing Rikyū above all other tea practitioners. Rikyū's unparalleled contribution is not limited to the innovations that he personally established but includes the appropriation of his reputation as the foundation for tea's transmission by subsequent generations of grand masters.

The second silence in Anderson's text concerns the nature of Rikyū's death. Anderson does not address the possibility that tea's later custodians subsumed the *seppuku* of Rikyū into the larger territory of the *wabi* narrative as a compelling demonstration of 'authentic' Sen tea's otherworldliness. This deification of Rikyū as the embodiment of tea values by the Houses of Sen was accompanied by a celebration of their authentic *wabi* tea (as opposed to Enshū's *kirei sabi* aesthetic, for example),[30] therefore compromising Anderson's attempt to establish a distance between Rikyū's tea achievements and his death by *seppuku*.

The historical consolidation of the Rikyū legend left a substantial paper trail. Varley identifies the discovery of the *Nampōroku* as the 'most important product of the Rikyū revival'.[31] In the context of a discussion about Rikyū as a vengeful and honoured spirit, Kumakura disagrees with attempts to separate the manner of Rikyū's death and his status as a tea legend:

> But the true resurrection of Rikyū as an honoured spirit and the guardian deity of the way of tea was achieved in the *Nampōroku*, whose existence was made known to the world at the time of the hundredth anniversary of Rikyū's death. In the final section of *Nampōroku* it states that if, following the death of Rikyū, someone should appear – even after a hundred years – who could truly succeed to his *wabi cha*, Rikyū's bones would be blessed and he would be reborn: His departed spirit would rejoice and he would surely become 'the guardian deity of the way of tea'. I am convinced that it is the shocking manner of Rikyū's death that explains why his *chanoyu* has been so rigorously preserved and transmitted, almost as an object of faith. Belief arose in the 'honored spirit of Rikyū', and in death he greatly captured the minds of the people as the guardian deity of tea.[32]

Kumakura asserts that the death of Rikyū by *seppuku*, and by extension, the debates around the question of whether Hideyoshi ordered Rikyū to commit *seppuku* or whether Rikyū chose it for himself, gave Rikyū and his tea practices a much more compelling significance. The following chapter argues that the posthumous significance of Rikyū's

death extended beyond the formation of the tea tradition to the invention of the nation as a category demanding absolute loyalty.

On the question of Rikyū's death, Cadwallader's incisive review of *Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama* identifies several misunderstandings of Rikyū prevalent in English language scholarship, and yet Cadwallader also reproduces an image of Rikyū at odds with his documented activity as a bullet merchant to Oda Nobunaga:

> In a letter from Nobunaga addressed to Rikyū, there is a note of thanks for a thousand musket balls:
>
> > As I was leaving for Echizen, a thousand musket balls arrived. I was most pleased to receive this gift from afar. I will have Harada, the Governor of Bitchū, convey my thanks.
> >
> > To Hōsensai [Rikyū]
> > 1575:9:16
> > Sincerely, Nobunaga[33]

Cadwallader is concerned with the simplistic and inaccurate misrepresentation of Rikyū in *Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama*:

> That 'he was sole adviser to Toyotomi Hideyoshi from 1582 until 1591, when Hideyoshi ordered him to commit suicide' (p. 205) is inexact on two counts. Firstly, there were other tea advisers to Hideyoshi, but Rikyū was the one at the top. Secondly, there is no documentation that Hideyoshi ordered Rikyū to commit suicide; just who did and how it was done still remains in the realm of speculation. Further down the same page, we find:
>
> > 'Rikyū, by his activities as Hideyoshi's tea master, gained tremendous political and economic power, with the result that he offended Hideyoshi.' Here again, the statement itself is all too simplistic and misleading. Rikyū undoubtedly had financial means and an amount of political sway with Hideyoshi; yet, he was not as wealthy as other tea masters who were used by Hideyoshi as supply sources, and, as a solitary merchant-class adviser to Hideyoshi, with no troops or retainers, his political power was nowhere near that of the generals who were Hideyoshi's strength and danger. Indeed, it is now speculated that Rikyū's 'enemies at court' were the generals who favoured a more hawk-like attitude in contrast to Rikyū's dove-like one.[34]

Although this conception of Rikyū as an agent of peace is at odds with his documented interest in reading military dispatches, and his

role as a merchant of bullets, the Teshigahara film features the pacifist intentions of Rikyū.

*Anecdotal accounts as national myth: tea is cultural*

If we connect Hobsbawm's notion of invented tradition with the category of the heroic men of history, the pragmatics of transmission may reveal the mechanics of this slippage of Rikyū's death into the *wabi* aesthetic. In the course of creating the historic past, anecdotes celebrate certain dramatic incidents. Tsutsui documents the presence of anecdotes in tea pedagogy[35] but does not address the possibility that '[m]ythical stories are narratives of speculation'.[36] These speculative manoeuvres embrace the past and repackage it to serve the needs of the present administration for a seamless tradition. The grand master's authority is legitimized by these visions of tea's apparently unchanging continuity:

> To the extent that this system constructs desiring subjects (those who are legitimate as well as those who are not), it simultaneously establishes them and itself as given and existing outside of time, as the way things work, the way they inevitably are.[37]

Attempting to control interpretations of tea's past by treating these anecdotes as the only facts about the role of tea in a time of social change is one Sen strategy for adding value to the Rikyū legacy. The mythology of Rikyū as an apolitical aesthete is implicated in the formation of tea as a value-neutral cultural practice that exists outside of historical influences. Depoliticizing Rikyū is one part of the procedure for positioning tea as the sort of inevitable system that is an integral part of a distinctive Japanese cultural identity.

Drawing attention to the use of myths and oral anecdotes to conceal certain discontinuities is one strategy of an experimental history.[38] The Daniel S. Milo version of an experimental history explores the forces of what might be possible if historians write to intervene. The contradictions between what was once understood in the past and what now resists comprehension are important starting points for distrusting how identity was shaped in the past. This experimental history isolates the ideological consequences of the counterfactual claims of the Rikyū-as-apolitical-aesthete mythology. The logic of transience and

a political need for convenient symbols to unify the linguistic and cultural diversities of the citizenry combine to assail tea practitioner subjectivities. Ernesto Laclau (1990) offers a theoretical account of how myth and representation capture subjectivity:

> The 'objective' condition for the emergence of myth … is a structural dislocation. The 'work' of myth is to suture that dislocated space through the constitution of a new space of representation. Thus, the effectiveness of myth is essentially hegemonic: it involves forming a new objectivity by means of the rearticulation of the dislocated elements … The moment of the myth's realization is consequently the moment of the subject's eclipse and its reabsorption by the structure – the moment at which the subject is reduced to 'subject position'.[39]

Assuming this subject position means being a legitimate member of a school of tea instruction: a true believer of the common sense of that tea world, be it in one of the three Senke schools, Nambō Ryū, or a *sen cha* school.

The presentation of a mythologized version of history through anecdotes is one discursive practice that depoliticizes tea practice. This use of anecdotes in an oral tradition tends to reduce historical complexities: 'Reality may be too complex for oral transmission; legend recreates it in a manner which is only accidentally false and which allows it to go about the world, from mouth to mouth.'[40] Anecdotes are shorthand accounts that simplify tea history and support the genealogical strategies of the Houses of Sen. As an important component of tea discourse, anecdotes work in contemporary transmission practices to support the lineage of the Rikyū tradition.

Tsutsui Hiroichi outlines the formative role of anecdotes in creating a tea community. Anecdotes also established within that emerging community an important division: the distinction between those immortalized in these narratives, those authorized to transmit them, and those who listen. Those who transmit the anecdotes tacitly align themselves with those represented in the anecdotes. The tellers of these tales assume a representative position, superior to the listeners. In rhetorically becoming those they represent, the speakers position themselves as the embodiment of the values contained in the anecdote. The authority to relate the incident implies the ability to pronounce what is and is not tea, and a significant part of the respon-

sibilities of the grand master is to determine what is officially recognized as authentic tea practice and who is competent to publicly perform these practices.

Anecdotes function as discourse in tea communities because they help shape certain forms of tea-room desire and subjectivity, and verbally establish certain conventions and values:

> When researching the history of tea, we look for the sources upon which tea traditions are founded and frequently arrive at anecdotes. Anecdotes, after being shared in the setting of the tea-room, encouraged the establishment of certain tea practices. Indeed, conversation in many cases became a vehicle for the establishment of tea traditions.[41]

Anecdotes became more influential when they were published in numerous collections, including *Sojimboku* (1626), *Chawa shigetsu-shū* (1701), *Chawa mamuki no okina* (1803) and *Chaji shuran* (1852).[42] After being legitimated in print, these anecdotes then return to be spoken in tea classrooms where they are offered as role models and historical examples of modes of tea conduct. According to Tsutsui, anecdotes were originally 'introduced as a method for guiding the novice and … as a means to arouse interest in *chanoyu* among novices'.[43]

Tsutsui's work, with its meticulous reference to written sources being used to validate anecdotes, has the appearance of historiographic accuracy but it nonetheless reinforces the narratives of the grand master tradition:

> The origin of *suicha*, the practice of sharing one bowl of thick tea (*koicha*) among the guests, is explained in one such anecdote:
>
> > Rikyū began the practice of *suicha* because, in the past, when preparing thick tea separately for each individual, the interval between guests was too long and both the host and guests became bored.
> >
> > *Chanoyu kojidan*
>
> From this anecdote we can infer that the manner of drinking thick tea before Rikyū's time was to prepare it separately for each guest, and that in his day thick tea began to be served in the *suicha* fashion. Since the first accounts of *suicha* are in the Tensho 14 (1586) entries of the *Matsuya kaiki* and the *Sōtan nikki*, it can be said that the anedote which reports that Rikyū initiated the practice is indeed factual.[44]

Jennifer L. Anderson refers to Tsutsui's scholarship but does not reproduce his simplified account of the grand master narrative.

Anderson notes that Rikyū has been 'credited with introducing (or reintroducing) the shared cup of *koicha* (thick tea) to the lay practice of *chado*. (The tradition had been preserved only in temple practice.)'[45] Her work reveals how Tsutsui's focus on one particular type of tea practice has silenced the existence of other elements of the tea tradition. The end result of this omission is an elevation of the individual contribution of Rikyū to the tea tradition at the expense of the efforts of other tea practitioners, and a denial of the continuity and diversity of tea's contexts.

This *suicha* example shows that this anecdotal foregrounding of the talents of one individual produces a misrepresentation of the historical record. A tea history centring on Rikyū, credits him with introducing the practice of drinking from a shared bowl of thick tea. If one takes a broader historical perspective, and steps beyond the vested interests of tea's institutional custodians, Rikyū *reintroduces* the shared bowl of thick tea practice.

Contemporary tea teachers continue to offer these anecdotes as implicit guides for self-styling, role models for certain modes of being that are prized in tea discourse. These oral histories also mark the boundaries of tea discourse. These are innocent tales and as such erase politics from the category of culture and conceal the economic aspects of the material culture of tea. In so doing, they confirm Jean-Francois Lyotard's assertion that '[n]arrative knowledge … certifies itself in the pragmatics of its own transmission without having recourse to argumentation and proof'.[46]

This experimental history identifies the use of anecdotes and other narrative forms of knowledge as a retreat from proof. In the course of my tea practice I have observed the following two patterns of transmission. Typically, a teacher will relay a relevant incident during the course of the regular practice. The anecdote may then continue to inform a certain sensibility by reappearing in comments made at tea gatherings hosted by those students, being the subject of their later discussions, or even being something consciously acknowledged in their combination of tea utensils. Alternatively, the anecdote may be part of the informative dialogue between the host and principal guest that functions as an informal lecture at a *benkyō kai*, study meeting. There are also tea performances which are usually hosted by a senior teacher who is supported by their more adept students. While nominally open

to the public because they are often held in shrines or temples, their intensely hierarchical atmosphere underlines the fact that they function as official displays of Sen tea orthodoxy.

Anecdotes that appear in this context are endorsed as elements of the tea tradition that should be internalized by junior members of the tea community. The content of these stories brings the aesthetic sphere into the foreground of self-styling. These anecdotes are verbal celebrations of a version of culture which attempts to deny the political and economic forces that sustain the authority of tea to represent Japan.

The pragmatics of this oral transmission includes tea's institutionalized structure of authority, and parallels the division by anecdotes into those represented, those that speak, and those that listen. This distinction between those who are producers of tea knowledge and those who are consumers of tea discourse implies a three-part structure that has successfully transmitted tea culture beyond Japan's boundaries: the grand master, regional teachers and students of tea across the world. The grand master has the authority to name tea utensils, procedures and people by supplying *chamei* (literally, tea name) bought from or awarded by the grand master.[47] Teachers have the responsibility to transmit the traditional values received from the grand master. Students have the obligation to listen, remember and become better students.

This system of communicating key values clearly marks those who can make pronouncements about what constitutes acceptable tea practice. This institutionalized authority does not encourage students to actively interrogate the conditions of their participation in tea discourse. It is this matrix of desire, authority and subjectivity that demands the historic past be elevated to the heroic.

Who would have thought it necessary to examine the trusted teachings of those who have honoured us by initiating us into deeper layers of tea knowledge?

## *History into film: consuming the nation*

*Rikyū* is examined, not to 'render historical what has hither to been hidden from history',[48] but to tease out some of the cultural implications of what has been obscured by particular representations of the

aesthetic sphere. The Teshigahara film comments on the role of Zen arts in the 'Japan the beautiful' history. Attention to how the film achieves its own ideological work of representation reveals how its use of scholarly and anecdotal versions of history normalizes certain 'truths' and raises other questions. As an example of Japanese national cinema, this film participates in 'a cultural-industrial enterprise which simultaneously imports and indigenizes film genres and styles from an international market dominated by Hollywood while seeking to maximize its audiences and the returns on its investments by exporting its own distinctive product to that market'.[49]

The image of Rikyū as court aesthete is examined in the context of the ideological utility of ' "transitive" Japaneseness, a matter of being Japanese for some purpose rather than just being Japanese'.[50] This survey of the political application of aesthetics will provide an interpretative frame for later comments about 'culture' as 'a device which may be strategically played for political purposes in international relations ... [and] is invoked as a smokescreen by people whose deeper motivations have little to do with culture and everything to do with power maintenance'.[51] The strategic employment of culture includes positioning the tea tradition as an exportable commodity, and the habit of conflating the Houses of Sen with the Japanese nation. As we have seen in the work of Brian Daizen Victoria, during the years preceding the Second World War, Zen-related practices were implicated in 'the lack of clarity in the distinction between state nationalism and cultural nationalism'.[52]

Karatani identifies the central role of the aesthete sphere in Japan's movement from nationalism to imperialism:

> Historians have scrutinized the political discourses surrounding the [1894–95 Sino-Japanese] war, but the fact that aesthetic discourses were the motivating moment has been ignored ... Okakura appreciated crafts as art, and by applying the same measure to all Asian nations, he confirmed the oneness of Asia within an art historical context ... His books began to be read in Japan in the 1930s, at the time when Japan began to move towards the 'Great East-Asian Co-Prosperity'. And it was from this moment on that the oneness of Asia, which he had discovered through his aesthetic thinking, came to function as an ideology that added the flourish to Japan's domination of Asia.[53]

The aesthetic insights of Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin) (1862–1913) about the oneness of Asian art were co-opted by imperialist military

interests, and this heightened appreciation of the artefacts of neighbouring countries masked the expansionist agenda lurking behind initially egalitarian pronouncements. This international use of the aesthetic sphere to legitimize coercive power relations is similar to the ways tea has served the creation of the national mythology inside Japan. Teshigahara's film addresses the issue of how cultural forms, including tea and noh, both express and define this sense of nationhood by elevating individual efforts to the status of representative texts. The aesthetic sphere embraces this constructed identity of 'the nation', and the national identity is aestheticized to the point of becoming a sacrament. It is at this point that Davis's notion of transitive Japaneseness, drawn from his analysis of what he calls the monumental style in Japanese cinema, accounts for perceptions of the contemporary persistence of Japan's well-ordered feudal hierarchy. The existential needs of the individual are subsumed in the highly aestheticized, sacramental narrative of nation:

> A sacrament is the enacting of a convenant, or spiritual contract, that sets out the responsibilities of people towards their God. The sacrament also promises salvation in exchange for the faithful devotion of the believer. Salvation, in the monumental style, does not mean everlasting life or individual happiness but rather a sense of belonging to a living entity much larger than the lone, often alienated, self. It promises above all a new way of seeing the world and one's place in it. It penetrates the clutter of ordinary perception to visualize the traces of antiquity and nobility in the slightest movement, in the humblest object. Most profoundly, the monumental style fashions a world where death is not overcome but glorified because it is the best way to show one's loyalty to the kingdom.[54]

The 1930s version of transitive Japaneseness resulted in a generation sacrificing themselves for a rhetorical aesthetic that used cherry blossoms: current applications of transitive Japaneseness draw on a vocabulary of cultural icons sustained by relationships of consumption and production. Representative icons such as tea and noh may be divorced from the everyday experience of most citizens, but these icons have a symbolic value that satisfies certain psychological needs of modern citizenry. The cultural practice of conjuring a seasonally constructed calendar centred on these distinctive cultural practices provides a venue for identification.

These cultural icons function as ambiguous spaces that allow a mass

audience to satisfy their various needs to belong to an imaginary community, demographically configured along lines of class and gender solidarity. Advertising agencies ensure that these spaces contain enough detail to provide myths and images that structure experience in a way that helps deal with the uncertainties of life during an economic recession. Saitō Yuriko notes that a principal strategy is the association of the transience of human and natural life,[55] and this is deliberately reinforced by advertisements: 'seasonal change forms a rhythm which is continually articulated and actively staged on the market, rather than one to which the market merely responds'.[56]

National television networks are economically viable because of appeals to mass audiences. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology supports standardized Japanese language with its emphasis on that standard version in formal education up to the secondary level. As the same time, television networks reduce distinctive local identities to programme fodder. The nuances of dialect and the resulting varying degrees of incomprehensibility become TV entertainment. The implicit subtext of these programmes is that these local identities differ from the nationally conventional ways of urban living.

In the 1930s, transitive Japaneseness meant affirming the nation, and its cultural, military and economic imperialism. More recently, the sense of Japanese nationhood is not something lived but is increasingly a spectacle witnessed in Japanese popular culture. The experience of belonging is mediated by the Japanese national cinema which is 'material reality, imaginative register and formation of knowledge/power'.[57] Tom O'Regan argues that all national cinemas perform the role of being 'a mobilizer of the nation's myths and of the myth of the nation'.[58] Japanese television and its regular seasons of period and contemporary dramas, and print and screen marketing strategies typically draw from this cultural icon bank as the nation is summoned by a series of consumption decisions.

Cultural identity has become a performance that requires the purchase of certain consumer items. Monthly *gessha* payments to a tea teacher meaning attending regular tea practice is one such commodity. The nation itself has been neatly commodified by these media for domestic and international consumption. It is these discourses of cultural production, reception and transmission that frame the following analysis of Teshigahara's *Rikyū*.

*Positioning the audience: genres in national cinema*

The film made by Teshigahara's production team integrates the scholarly and anecdotal versions of history according to certain generic, thematic and narrative conventions. Viewers are presented with a set of representations, identities and relations that position tea in a period of historical consolidation. The world of sixteenth-century Japan is marked by a complex relationship between art and politics. The art of tea is represented as being political, and personal investments in aesthetic identities organized around tea are considerable:

> Hideyoshi was forced to play by the rules of the game, and ultimately it was a game he could never win, because *wabi* tea culture as a relatively autonomous mode of practice was structured in a manner which was fundamentally opposed to the dominant principle of hierarchization on which Hideyoshi's power was based. Indeed, it was through this requirement of engagement in the *wabi* mode that the art of tea culture was able to resist the dominant principle of hierarchization that powerful warlords such as Hideyoshi sought to impose, allowing both the field of tea culture and tea practitioners to preserve some measure of autonomy.[59]

The Teshigahara film shows that true believers are willing to die for a particular version of tea practice. The world is seen to be a treacherous place with tea being both part of the danger and a source of relief from those tensions. Against this background of tea being a profession for some and merely play for others, the on-screen identities are a dynamic mix of cooperation, competition and coercion. There are occasional outbursts of stubborn resistance to authority. A death sentence could be handed out in the heat of the moment, or passed down in an almost offhand way as the war lord indulges himself in flower arranging. The relationships between these identities are fluid and complex. The tea master teaches tea to his patron the war lord. The tea master is obliged to follow the orders of his patron the war lord. The tea master feels obliged to tell the war lord what no one else can directly say to him.

The film evokes this chapter from the sixteenth-century history of tea by combining four genres: Japanese period drama, known as *jidai geki* or *rekishi eiga*; biography; Hollywood narrative; and documentary. An outline of the characteristics of these genres in terms of their presence in the film precedes comments on the range of subjectivities offered to audiences of the film.

As a late example of the monumental style of Japanese national cinema that distils an essential but imaginary Japanese identity,[60] *Rikyū* also exemplifies:

> the genre of Hollywood narratives, which make everything contingent to narrative and its structuring ... In these films the narrative constantly constitutes and re-constitutes time-space and point of view in the interest of sustained coherence. The idea is to implicate, position and entertain the spectator ... In Hollywood the sole aim of a film is to entertain the spectator by telling a good story – linear and closed, realistic and believable.[61]

While films do have ideological, aesthetic and financial objectives in addition to the narrative considerations outlined by Jaireth, this focus on the linear intent of the *Rikyū* narrative highlights how Teshigahara has structured the film by combining scholarly and anecdotal versions of history. The opening instants of the film contest a key tenet of Sen tea discourse: the power-neutral status of tea as a cultural practice. The first titles clearly present a claim that tea was centrally located in discourses of authority, and this frames the film's ongoing concern with the relationships between aesthetics and politics, and the individual and the state.

The text of these first titles makes visual the sorts of evidence documented in the scholarship of Bodart and Watsky: tea as power. The viewer then witnesses preparations for a tea gathering, and here the film's documentary elements present a role model for tea practitioners of how to put tea values into practice. The pedagogical content of the film's opening scene is the legendary single morning glory flower incident immortalized in tea anecdotes, and those tea values assume a representative function.[62] They exemplify tea practitioner's celebration and reinforcement of the centrality of seasonal transience, and by extension, the nation.

This strategy of reducing and simplifying Japanese nature is an attempt to escape from the clutter of the everyday and is one component of national sacramentalization. This reductive impulse is not confined to tea ceremony, and the following account of the anecdote re-enacted in the film's opening scene demonstrates that it is a common trope in the creation of an idealized Japanese vision of nature:

> At times the quantity is deliberately reduced to a minimum. As when Toyotomi Hideyoshi, the sixteenth-century warlord and national unifier,

> wanting to celebrate the profusion of morning glories in a tea master's garden, came to the tea ceremony only to find that the master Sen no Rikyū had cut all the flowers, leaving a single one in a vase on the ceremonial shelf ... Another well-known story is the use of a single camellia flower in the Ikenobo School of flower arrangement. In 1816, the fortieth master of the school instructed that only six and a half leaves should be left, the others removed to reveal the pure essence of the flower. His successor went further: only three and a half leaves should be left.[63]

This movement from a single camellia flower to six and a half leaves to only three and a half leaves is an example of how creative expressions become codified and reduced to formula inside *iemoto* systems. While the opening scene of the film has a pedagogic role in evaluating a certain minimalist aesthetic above others, it is also what Tom O'Regan calls 'a social document recreating popular memory'.[64] The purpose of its movement through various interpretations of historical truth is to implicate the spectator in the film's debate of these issues by positioning the spectator as a consumer of these authentic images which are both entertaining and very persuasive representations of the otherness of Japanese identity.

The documentary elements of the film support the other three genres by providing a discourse of authenticity. This persuasive notion of the authentic seduces the audience into the willing suspension of disbelief: the distinction between the represented and the real collapses in the face of the intellectual, commercial and cultural capital invested in the film. De Certeau's comment about the formation of historical discourse is relevant to how audience identification with, and reception of, the film moment erases the mechanism that manufactures their awe: 'this authorized appearance of the "real" serves precisely to camouflage the practice which in fact determines it. Representation thus disguises the praxis that organizes it.'[65] As the following sections demonstrate, the film both naturalizes and problematicizes the grand master's authority and the corresponding vision of tea's history.

This representation of authenticity encompasses the cooperation of the Houses of Sen, the appearance of tea utensils of the period, and the use of locations including Daitokuji which were actually frequented by Rikyū. Teshigahara's own status as the grand master of the Sōgetsu School of ikebana, 'a noted tea master who presumably wishes to promote his school',[66] becomes significant if the film is conceptual-

ized as one grand master's celebration of the lived values of The Grand Master.

Dore Ashton uses this notion of authenticity to validate Teshigahara's efforts to present an idealized aestheticized history:

> He [Teshigahara] was careful to infuse his imagery with a spirit of authenticity. His detailed knowledge of calligraphy and traditional ceramic practices, as well as of the accoutrements in court life of the period, had been built over the years. Like his friend [Isamu] Noguchi, Teshigahara had visited Kyoto's monasteries and engaged some of the more cultured monks in conversations. He knew the Zen temple settings that Rikyū himself had known. Teshigahara also established contact with the most important schools of tea ceremony and their *iemoto*, and when the time came, enlisted them as advisers.[67]

This discourse of authenticity creates for the viewer a powerful engagement of the same magnitude as the film production techniques outlined by Hayward. In cinema studies, 'suture' refers to how viewer attention is stitched into the plotted development of the film by continuity editing, and such devices sustain the seamlessness of the narrative by collapsing the distinction between on and off screen space.[68] In Teshigahara's film, the presentation of authenticity compounds the seductive persuasion of conventional film suturing. This is one way that the film fulfils one expectation of Japanese national cinema: recontextualizing discourses of the nation, appropriating Hollywood genres and returning a nationally distinctive product to the US market.[69]

As the film documents Rikyū's artistic milieu, the aesthetic charms of the documentary elements, as the appearance of the real, endow the plot of the period drama with an authentic glow that supports the film's presentation of the imagined historical causes of Rikyū's *seppuku*. The time-space of the idealized reality is supported by screen time matching real time.

The spectacle of the real-time cooling of the black Raku tea bowl gives the audience a glimpse of the almost living quality attributed to tea utensils by some of tea's true believers. This emotional identification of the audience with an inanimate object and introduction to a particular way of appreciating tea vessels is drawn on later when an incensed Hideyoshi smashes the black bowl and banishes Yamanoue

Sōji for relating Rikyū's comment about the importance of appreciating the beauty of black. The creation of the audience's appreciation of artistic innovation by a reverentially composed shot of the partially smashed tea bowl made by Raku Chōjirō (1573–1615) is how the film reinforces and personalizes its concern with the political aspects of aesthetics. The composition has the formality of an exhibition space installation, and yet there is a more intimate presentation as the bowl is offered to us (individually) in a private (video) viewing.

Marvellously sensual close-ups of the brush caressing the gold dusted surface convince us to willingly imagine that we are witnessing the screen painting of Hasegawa Tōhaku (1539–1610). As in certain forms of documentary film-making, there is no distinction between screen time and real time: the viewer is consumed by this coalescence of on-screen and off-screen time.

These two examples of the pairing of screen time and real time are significant modulations of film tempo. Out in the real world of working for a living, attending a tea event is currently represented as a delightful retreat from the bustle of daily concerns. In that same way, the contrast of these leisurely presentations of the aesthetic excellence of Chōjirō and Tōhaku with the bothersome court intrigues emphasizes the escalation of events leading to Rikyū's final walk in the bamboo.

The narrative impulse is a dominant presence in the film, and underpins the tempo of the film's movement to that final bamboo grove littered with the armour and skeletons of dead warriors. This linear drive is necessary and inevitable, as even some Japanese high school students of history already know the outcome of the film. The mechanism of the cinema ensnares the viewer in the narrative form:

> Narrative cinema is based on the powerful apparatus of looks and seeings. Seeing a film, we are faced with a series of looks: the look of the camera at the profilmic event, the look of the spectator at the screen, and the looks of characters at one another and objects within on-screen and off-screen time-space. A cinematic narrative thus implicates at every level of its unfolding three participants: the camera, the screen and the spectator. The narrative is constituted and sustained by the continual co-being of these three 'actors' … Thus as the cinematic narrative unfolds it provides, in the form of images composed into shots, sites where the spectator can enter into varying degrees of identification with the camera – the implied

> shower/narrator – and the protagonists in the narrative. This complicated relationship between seeings and looks in a cinematic narrative is described in cinema theory in terms of the dichotomies between subjective (point of view) or objective (omniscient or voyeuristic), subjective or objective narration, first person or third person telling.[70]

Jaireth's definitions allow us to explore the different types of identification the Rikyū narrative encourages. In the course of previously addressing the question of authenticity and the use of ceramic masterpieces in the film, I presented a case for the viewer being attributed a particular set of psychological and aesthetic positionings. The dominant mode of identification is mediated by nationalist discourse. While the previous pages may imply that the generic conventions of *jidai geki*, Hollywood narrative, biography and documentary elements work separately throughout the film, this is not the case. It is in the deliberate conflation of these generic patterns that the film proposes a particular set of relations for its viewers.

Biographies typically celebrate extraordinary lives, and these texts often encourage a blurring of the distinction between the individual and wider social frames.[71] Biographies and historical dramas position the viewer as a student of history, and the viewer typically experiences a range of pleasure that may include the willing suspension of disbelief facilitating an identification with key historical figures engaged in important actions in significant locations. The combination of the Hollywood narrative, Japanese period drama and biography places the viewer in an omniscient position, watching the neat unfolding of the historical interpretation constructed by the film.

*Rikyū* is recognizable as the sort of *rekishi eiga* that could be celebrated by Hasegawa Nyozekan as effective propaganda for Japan's 'Culture of Feeling'.[72] By documenting the minutiae of Rikyū's artistic activities, the film performs a didactic role for tea students viewing the film.

The film contains a model of an authentic Person of Tea. The business of selecting bamboo and fashioning *hana ire*, flower containers, should be important activities for tea practitioners. However, during the period of post-war economic prosperity, rather than the creation of one's own utensils, it is the purchase of tea ware that has become part of the business of being a tea person. As the Way of Shopping has become part of the Way of Tea, the film gives tea people an

informed sense of the production of certain utensils that would be useful when they visit tea-ware merchants.

The culture of tea-feeling and knowledge is one of Teshigahara's concerns. The film, in exercising its considerable 'ability to mobilize public sentiments, rehearse national myths and identities and produce a favourable self-image to the world',[73] proposes to domestic and international audiences that an idealized sensitivity to nature and the four seasons is a cornerstone of Japanese identity. Rosenberger outlines how this ideological construction of nature functions politically in naturalizing a gendered and conservative acceptance of the established social order:

> By learning flower-arranging and tea ceremony, higher-class women could teach the future leaders of Japan the way of nature: the obedience, calmness, perseverance and malleability that ideal nature taught.[74]

Framing the film as a biography makes the structure of sequential editing more apparent and foregrounds Teshigahara's integration of the various versions of history, his plotting of Rikyū's fall from favour, and the consequent necessity of psychologically pitting Rikyū against Hideyoshi as one way to support the art-politics distinction proposed by the film's opening moments.

The following summary indicates how the whole film is driven by the closure of Rikyū's death. It starts with Rikyū at the peak of his career, publicly acclaimed as the foremost tea practitioner and teaching Hideyoshi privately. It then flashes back to when, according to Watsky, Rikyū was a mere leading member of the tea community who was held in less regard than Imai Sōkyū, and chronicles the fall of Rikyū by presenting the intrigues of one of Cadwallader's so-called hawks, Ishida Mitsunari (1560–1600). The film's final image is Rikyū walking into the storm-lashed bamboo grove where he supposedly kills himself, and then the following white text scrolls onto the black screen:

> On 28 February 1591
> Rikyū committed ritual suicide.
> But his way of tea
> influenced the nation forever.
> Hideyoshi died six years later
> during his invasion of Korea.[75]

This ending can be read as the film's conclusion of its own proposal of a binary distinction between art and politics. *Rikyū* received an award for the best artistic contribution at Montreal's 1989 World Film Festival. The aesthetic of the tea tradition is screened to appreciative international audiences as enduring and immortal. The relationship between art and politics is more ambiguous in two incidents in the film that specifically address the issue of how aesthetic technology serves the political sphere.

The first incident is Hideyoshi's order for Rikyū to build a golden tea-room.[76] This idea comes to Hideyoshi when he sees the delight of those characterized by Davis as the 'treacherous Portuguese Jesuits'[77] who have come to Japan to proselytize and profit from the international gun trade. After an audience with Hideyoshi, the priests are overwhelmed when presented with the spectacle of gold amassed by Hideyoshi. From the intensity of their reaction Hideyoshi decides to use his gold in a tea-room constructed on the intimate scale of Rikyu's preference. Rikyū encourages Hideyoshi as he serves tea to the emperor in the golden tea-room.

As the following extract prepared by Suzy Sloan Jones suggests, that golden tea-room was important for Hideyoshi as a means of validating his military authority with a patina acceptable to the delicate imperial sensibilities. The authority of the emperor was later invoked when Hideyoshi used the golden tea-room as a seductively powerful extension of the battlefield in solving regional disputes between Sōrin of the Ōtomo family of Bungo and the Satsuma-based Shimazu clan:

> 1585 – Hideyoshi sponsors a programme of Noh at the imperial palace in celebration of his appointment to *kampaku*. Assisted by Sen no Rikyū, he entertains the Emperor Ogimachi at a tea ceremony in the imperial palace (October).
>
> 1586 – Hideyoshi visits the imperial palace and displays his portable golden tea-room to the emperor; he entertains Ōtomo Sōrin in the same tea-room at Osaka Castle.[78]

The film audience sees a court representative witnessing Hideyoshi serve tea to the emperor. Spectators look at the screen: one audience watching another audience emphasizes that the consumption of that one bowl of tea served to the emperor by Hideyoshi has political consequences. What happens between those two men in the golden

tea-room is official business. Although *Rikyū* is driven by the tensions between art and politics, the aesthetic sphere and the world of politics are shown to support each other. The inspiration for this now legendary tea-room came not from Rikyū but from Hideyoshi. Hideyoshi employed Rikyū and tea as elements of a wider struggle to define his war-lord leadership as legitimate forms.

The second incident concerns the possible use of tea as a tool of political assassination by Hideyoshi to eliminate Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616). There is considerable suspense in the scene where Ieyasu is in the candle-lit tea-room, possibly facing a more palatable version of what usually occurs in the hurly burly of battle. For a student of tea, it appears almost shocking that Rikyū asks Ieyasu a question as he is about to drink Rikyū's tea. The whole reason for the elaborate preparation of food and utensils is to ensure the guest's profound appreciation at that very instant of partaking. Taking the attention of the guest away from a bowl of hot tea with an unexpected question at that point does, however, give the host time to digest the answer of the guest.

The circumstances of the film's production, made with Sen cooperation, are an important context for understanding how suspense was created around the on-screen possibility of Rikyū serving Ieyasu a bowl of poisoned tea. Ashton's prose is not clear on whether the cooperation of the grand masters of the Houses of Sen as advisers actually meant they were more than mute observers of how their ancestor was being represented to the global cinema audience.

> Rikyū's often silent presence at momentous events in the film leaves a trace of suspicion in the viewer's mind, as Teshigahara leads him to his first crisis of conscience when he is directed by Hideyoshi to poison a rival *daimyō*, Ieyasu, and Rikyū tacitly refuses. This crucial scene was filmed again and again, always in the presence of advisers from Urasenke who monitored each gesture. Teshigahara restrained the actors so that the scene had a slow, almost ritualistic character and focused on the importance of objects, as he had done so often in his previous films, most particularly the objet d'art containing the poison.[79]

The overstatement in Ashton's description points to how art mirrors history. Cadwallader emphasizes that no extant document supports the speculation that Hideyoshi ordered Rikyū to commit suicide. In the same way, the film does not make it clear that Hideyoshi tells Rikyū to poison Ieyasu during the serving of tea. In the film, it is Ishida

Mitsunari (1560–1600), who strongly advocates the use of poison confiscated from a recently executed Christian. Hideyoshi's facial expression in reaction to Ishida's suggestion appears deliberately vague. Ishida exploits this lack of clarity when Rikyū later queries Ishida's insistence on poisoning Ieyasu. Ishida reminds Rikyū that the onus falls on him to make the correct interpretation.

This on-screen presentation of the inherent ambiguity of certain historical incidents brings to mind Anderson's comment about the paucity of documents written by Rikyū which record the details of his tea practice and its philosophical underpinnings. Tea anecdotes fill this factual vacuum: 'Our stories order our world, providing the mimetic and mythical structures for experience.'[80] Custody of Rikyū anecdotes as part of the Houses of Sen pedagogy amounts to a significant form of cultural capital: tea anecdotes help shape tea-room experience as they become the foundation for the discursive formation of tea knowledge and power.

As a Japanese period drama, the film collapses the distinctions between public and private, and information and entertainment. This occurs as the film integrates the written scholarly record with the more anecdotal accounts heard in Sen tea-rooms. It is in this selective interpretation of histories that the film establishes its own authority, and the overlapping slippage from historical to documentary to anecdotal to period drama occurs in the film's opening moments when the following white titles appear on the black screen:

> This is the story of the duel
> between art and politics,
> of the beliefs of one man
> against the ambitions of another.
> In sixteenth century Japan
> under a new ruling class,
> the arts were flourishing
> and at the centre …
> the tea ceremony.
> A film by Hiroshi Teshigahara
> Dedicated to Sofu Teshigahara
> Isamu Noguchi[81]

Teshigahara's film-making positions viewers as witnesses to the unfolding of history, and Rikyū's tea is shown at the centre of six-

teenth-century Japanese commercial and military activities. The film experience creates, supplies, and satisfies visual, aural and psychological pleasures. These private viewing pleasures assume a public significance because the film presents itself as an image of idealized Japanese identity, a representation supported by nationalist discourse. Considerable intellectual, commercial and cultural capital were required to produce this aesthetically impressive advertisement for a specific version of Japanese cultural practices. *Rikyū* has a certain persuasive authority, and audience members may accept its presentation of a historical interpretation as a source of public information because of the seductive pragmatics of its transmission by film and video technology. This audio-visual persuasion is reinforced by the multiple investments of power and desire by the cultural capitalists involved in the film's production.

*Rikyū* presents an idealized representation of historical individuals and events. Teshigahara's combination of cinematic elements (editing, composition and framing of shots, sound) is designed to sustain the validity of certain cause and effect relationships. It is this control of what the audience sees that supports an implied cluster of value hierarchies (aesthetic/political, individual/social). The plot functions as a context for a debate on the relative values of these issues, and this underpins the psychological conflict between the duelling personalities of tea-master Rikyū and Hideyoshi, war lord, patron and student of tea.

Distinctions between the genres of biography and *jidai geki* are collapsed by 'the habit of conflating human culture with the lives of extraordinary individuals'.[82] While arguments have been made for the case that Rikyū 'is principally venerated for this unparalleled contribution to *chadō* [and] not for the dramatic mode of his demise',[83] Kouvaros asserts that the 'significance of biographies … has less to do with what they tell us (or don't tell us) about their subjects. Their significance resides … in the way they mark the end point in the canonization of their subject.'[84] In the popular imagination, Rikyū's canonization occurred at precisely the point Anderson claims it does not: his death.

Orthodox tea doctrine tells us that the extraordinary achievements of Rikyū were validated with the belief that his aesthetics were somehow above strategic commercial and military concerns. These

values, in the context of the narrative of the nation, were worthy of the ultimate sacrifice. The simplistic reduction by tea anecdotes of the complexity of Rikyū is a necessary step in the process of designating his tea activities as worthy of supporting the national mantle.

As an example of Davis's monumental style, the film *Rikyū* glorifies the death of Rikyū by reminding the viewer of the primary legacy of Rikyū. His gift is not merely the development of innovations which have since frozen into an orthodoxy that celebrates an image of life four hundred years ago. Instead it is the pliable nature of the texts that represent his life. In the course of becoming a pillar of orthodoxy, Rikyū's life has been subject to extreme textual drift. During the 1930s his legacy was invoked to create support for the expansionist activities of the militarist government. One generation later his endowment includes the 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea' campaign.

### *Tea film, tea practice: the critical power of voice-over*

*Rikyū* comments on the current institutionalization of Sen tea practices. Given the film's embrace of the notion of authenticity, including the use of masterpiece tea ware, and the questions emerging from Ashton's account of the cooperation of the Houses of Sen, the assessment of the grand master system is obliquely removed from the narrative driven by Rikyū's fall. Nonetheless, the film can be read as a critical review of current tea pedagogy and practices when contrasted with the experience of tea students.

Teshigahara employs the device of the disembodied voice-over to have the voice of Rikyū cross four centuries of the institutionalization of tea practice. While the disembodied voice-over attributes to Rikyū a youthful omnipresence, it also allows Teshigahara to provide tea practitioners with the means to contrast their own experience as provincial consumers of tea orthodoxy with one representation of that highly contested construction, the real spirit of tea. This slip out of the willing suspension of disbelief allows students of tea to sense something of the cost to the core tea values of its institutionalization into an ossified pedagogy.

The disembodied voice-over accompanies a sequence of five shots that constitute two scenes. Visually, the film distances itself from its principal concerns with tea-rooms and intrigues with a transition shot

of a stream. It then cuts to a close-up of the young Catholic priest Stefano before panning away to a midshot of Rikyū and his assistant as they walk through a sparse scrub of small trees. In the next shot, all three are walking slowly as they inspect trees that Rikyū rejects as inappropriate for use as tea-room posts. In the last shot of the first scene, all three descend to drink water from a stream and Rikyū washes the perspiration from his face. In contrast to the sunlit images of the three men moving through the landscape, the second scene is much less dynamic in terms of on-screen and camera movement. It is one static long shot of a much darker forest scene with the more monumental presence of a mature stand of trees. Amidst this epic silhouette, the movement of three almost insignificant figures, the last one carrying a tree trunk, is barely discernible. These two scenes are the visual background for the following dialogue between Stefano, Rikyū and his assistant. The second scene starts with Stefano's comment about the spiritual content of tea:

| | |
|---|---|
| Stefano: | What does it mean 'A fine horse tied to a straw house?'[85] |
| Rikyū: | How would you interpret it, Stefano? |
| Stefano: | Straw houses represent poverty<br>But tea-ware is expensive.<br>So it's a bit like a luxurious game. |
| Rikyū: | Not at all.<br>The richness is not in the humble tea-house<br>But in the spirits of those who sit there.<br>That's what it means. |
| Stefano: | So what we are talking about is richness of the spirit. |
| Rikyū: | A narrow mind cannot open the door to tea. |
| Stefano: | The tea-ceremony was a great spiritual adventure for me. |
| Rikyū's assistant: | Will you continue it back home? |
| Stefano: | Yes, but the ceremony is difficult. |
| Rikyū: | Don't take it too seriously.<br>It is good to let things happen.<br>The true way of tea is without expectation.[86] |

It is significant that Rikyū is discussing the meaning of tea's precepts with a foreigner because this dialogue's explicitly pedagogical content naturalizes the idea that certain cultural practices privilege those with a particular birthright. Stefano's ethnicity also raises the issue of tea's

international commodification and its self-presentation as the quintessential Japanese practice. This dialogue equips tea practitioners with several criteria with which to assess their participation in the codification of tea practice.

The first point is the contrast between the *wabi* aesthetic of poverty that cherishes the well-worn and the market premium that these pieces command. The dialogue emphasizes that the consciousness of the practitioners is more important than the matter of the tea-room setting. By arguing that tea is primarily a spiritual exercise, the dialogue can be read as a retort to the excessive concerns with the provenance of tea ware. This includes the lucrative *hakogaki* practice (literally box writing, the signature of the grand master on the lid of a tea ware box designates that piece as an authentic item of merit) which is the principal mechanism for maintaining and increasing the value of tea utensils.

The second point concerns the commodification of tea practice. When tea practitioners talk about the Way of Tea, the implication is that tea is a road towards a particular set of experiences and enlightenment of some kind. The dialogue's metaphor of tea's open door can be extended to argue that the institutionalization of tea has changed the Way of Tea into a toll road. Progress is mediated by the licensing system with progressively higher fees for more advanced levels of practice. One of the grand master's responsibilities is to ensure the purity of the tradition and this can be achieved by using his powers to authoritatively rule on what practices and which practitioners are appropriate for official tea displays. Although a rhetoric of hospitality is used to welcome guests to the tea-room, the Way of Tea is a toll road with a gate-keeper.

The third point concerns the difficulty of tea practice referred to by Stefano. Stefano may be commenting on a sixteenth-century experience but may also be speaking to the modern study of tea. Based on my own tea classroom experience, it suggests the attention to perfect form, and increasingly rigid control of higher levels of tea practice that characterizes institutionalized tea pedagogy out in the provinces. As students master deeper levels of tea knowledge there is the teacher expectation that they will embody more of the higher values of tea behaviour. As the teacher has invested years of attention in the progress of the student, evidence of backsliding can sometimes result in the student receiving a sharp rebuke.

The fourth point concerns the place of spontaneity in tea practice. If the real way of tea relies on absence of expectation as the means to advance, then the paralysing insistence on orthodox tea practice that is currently its pedagogical foundation represents a systemic obstacle to students graduating from endless cycles of formulaic repetition. Spontaneity, like innovation, tends to be a privilege of the grand master. For others, there is a choice between following the official guidelines or facing the possibility of being declared *persona non grata* under the grand master's powers.

Tea pedagogy aims to naturalize certain behavioural norms: orthodox ways of acting, reacting, constructing experience and valuing utensils. *Karada de oboeru*, literally to remember with the body, is a central tenet of tea pedagogy. When received uncritically, this exhortation enlivens the desire of the student to become the embodiment of the tea tradition. By directing the student's attention to their body, the guardians of that tradition ensure that a range of practices which naturalize their authority to determine what is considered authentic tea are maintained. The end result of tea pedagogy is a student who has internalized this extremely mannered way of experiencing the four seasons of the Japanese world and can perform this embodied knowledge in an apparently unrehearsed way:

> There is a contradiction between the requirement of expected behaviour and spontaneity (in Japanese culture as in most other cultures), but this contradiction is solved by training to behave 'spontaneously' (without thinking) according to expectations. For human beings this means that s/he must be thoroughly socialized, that is instructed or cultivated, so that the expected behaviour can be performed seemingly devoid of artificiality.[87]

In examining the implications of the doctrine of Japan's four seasons for identity formation, Ackermann poses the following rhetorical question: 'Is the ideology of nature as visualization of a universal Principle not safely in the hands of that stratum of Japanese society that has an interest in creating pliable and dependent personalities?'[88] This question is an important one because it foregrounds the possibility that the cultural construction of four seasons may perform significant ideological work.

The Japan-has-four-seasons discourse unifies ways of experiencing seasonal changes along the lines of a belief in the uniqueness of

Japanese culture. Tea pedagogy is a form of social organization that cultivates conventional ways of acting and speaking about the seasons. Kramer suggests that the 'majority of practitioners are members of a group who derive pleasure and meaning from membership in a social organization',[89] and presumably these individuals are a significant presence among those who express their agency by aspiring to the performance of textbook-perfect orthodox tea practices that are seasonally appropriate. Anderson observes the 'ideal student is born to the world of Tea with only a willingness to learn and an unquestioning respect for the authority of the teacher'.[90] This learner profile offers a clue as to how tea pedagogy distinguishes between legitimate desiring subjects who accept the pleasures of orthodoxy and illegitimates who seek to identify the play of power in tea pleasures.[91] The corporeal emphasis in tea pedagogy requires the willing suspension of scepticism towards discourses of authority.

Despite the extent to which these insights may imply an answer to Ackermann in the affirmative, it would be a mistake to underestimate the agency of tea practitioners as they proceed to rise through tea's organizational structure. Mori notes that women are empowered by the experience of persisting with tea study. Through tea women learn 'how to control the body (to move gracefully, to be well balanced); how to control a situation (physically – what objects to put into the room, and socially – how to manage the human interaction in the room); how to feel self-confident'.[92] These skills are useful to all tea students outside the tea-room and help shape a certain type of persona, characterized by a heightened sense of the now. This can be observed in a sensitivity to the instant of nature, or a cherishing of social contacts as once-in-a-lifetime possibilities.

As the fifteenth generation Master of the Urasenke School, Sen Sōshitsu had a vested interest in the systematic formation of a particular subjectivity through tea pedagogy. The use of hierarchal relationships throughout the Urasenke constellation appears to have been a successful technique for reinforcing the authority of a sixteen-generation tradition. His following remarks suggest that the creation of an apparently intuitive spontaneity is something achieved because of having embodied some of Urasenke tea's conventional ways of behaving.

> As I was busy working I felt the wish for a cup of tea. Just as if my thoughts had been read, a lady opened the door and brought me some tea. That was perfect timing and … I felt thankfulness in the depth of my heart … I had not noticed the heating being fully on until I felt I was perspiring. Just at that moment the door opened slightly and a young lady remarked, 'It is hot, isn't it?' The lady opened the window a little for me … Timing means careful observation of the movements of others, becoming one with others … When I asked [those who understand how to become one with others] whether they were trained in the tea ceremony [that is, by implication, trained in the observation of nature], the answer was 'yes'. (Sen 1977, pp. 202, 204)[93]

Certain representations conceal the praxis that makes them possible.[94] Sen's representation of spontaneity in the first paragraph anticipates the explanation for why he was the recipient of unsolicited consideration. Taking this apparently natural impulse ('as if my thoughts had been read') as an example of expected behaviour conceals the extent to which a supposedly spontaneous action such as this is actually the product of intensive self-fashioning along the lines of certain conventions. These conventions are not innocent commonplaces, they are part of a systematic world view that divides the world into those that have been taught how to act spontaneously according to Urasenke rules and those who do not know those codes. Kondo suggests how the co-existence of the hospitality impulse with this division of the world into us and them is sustained by the orthodox notion of proper form.

> The theory is that mere good intentions are insufficient; one must know the proper form in order to express one's feelings of hospitality effectively … [I]t is important to note the representation of a mental state by an action, and the performative aspect involved: performing these actions is as good as having the right attitude, for it should induce the right attitude.[95]

If the true way of tea is without expectation as Teshigahara's *Rikyū* asserts, the question then arises, how is this state of being without expectation to be embodied? Given the global rhetoric of the 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea' campaign, it appears ironic that the right attitude can only be achieved by following Urasenke rules. It is precisely the repetitive insistence of remembering with the body that produces a lack of spontaneity at weekly tea practice and official tea

displays. Given that the apparent robustness of the tradition evident in these public exhibitions of orthodoxy requires a certain group psychology and a particular learning style premised on an absolute acceptance of the authority of the teacher, the claim to universality of these hospitality codes does appear to be problematic.

Of the four issues raised by the voice-over dialogue, this final point seems to have the most substantial merit as a criticism of tea practice and the Sen attempt to depoliticize, codify and commodify the aesthetic sphere. This point is made in the second scene when the camera is firmly anchored in the dark depths of the forest, safely removed from the corridors of power.

## *No final position: othering the Self*

Viewers are implicated in the on-screen spectacle of how cinematic representations of tea practice are framed by national discourses of cultural production, reception and transmission. Audience members might identify with *Rikyū* because tea culture is a familiar part of their seasonal life. On the other hand, the otherworldliness of tea practices and the status of tea as a distinctive marker of Japanese identity might be the basis on which audience members engage the film.

If the cultural identities of viewers are reaffirmed by *Rikyū* because of the effective combination of genres that structure the film, viewers may partially identify with that representation of a sacramentalized Japanese nationality. The subject matter of tea teaching would make *Rikyū* accessible to audience members who study other forms of cultural practice that are transmitted from one generation to the next by a grand master. Given that this film purports to be a national aesthetic packaged for international consumption, the *jidai geki* film encourages domestic and overseas viewers whose cultural identity is not reaffirmed by *Rikyū* to accept an aesthetic identification with the documented otherness of Japanese material culture.

Alternatively, the category of culture might not be the point of identification. If *Rikyū* is read as a narrative that questions the legitimacy of authority, viewers can engage with the central decision of the film. Reading *Rikyū* as a biography gives audiences a chance to reflect on the relationships between ethical values, death, family responsibilities and life. Engaging the film in terms of these relationships requires

acknowledging the cultural component of ethics and decision-making.

Conventional notions of Japaneseness are based on an ideological trinity of ethnicity, language and culture. Viewing *Rikyū* as national cinema highlights the need to go beyond the blunt distinction of simply being inside or outside a culture. The film addresses the production, reception and transmission of tea values. Embodying particular forms of intellectual and symbolic capital in the manner of the film character Stefano emphasizes that some aspects of cultural boundaries are permeable. In the world outside *Rikyū* acquiring tea culture literacy is not limited to those blessed by a narrow ethnic, linguistic and cultural profile. The existence of non-Japanese tea instructors who have graduated from the Urasenke Midori Kai programme could be evidence that supports the claim that culture has no citizenship.

The tensions around the various ways *Rikyū* reaffirms cultural identities exposes the tenuous connections between ethnicity, language and culture that sustain an idea of the Japanese nation. Tea practices, while being recognized as international icons of Japanese identity, are foreign territory to many holders of Japanese passports. Urban Japanese with no first-hand experience of tea culture may still be able to identify with the cultural spectacle of the film because of personal associations. Part of that cultural background may include anecdotes told by grandparents from the pre-war period when tea was incorporated into women's education, and an element of the so-called bride education and other family practices. However, among the generation of urban Japanese accustomed to the table-and-chairs life in high-rise apartment complexes, the engagement with an identity based on sitting on the *tatami* floor of a tea-room might be less personal. A more common example of the reaffirmation of viewer cultural identities might simply be a seduction by the film's configuring of the genres of period drama and documentary with viewing practices associated with 'willing suspension of disbelief' realism. This form of identification would then be a nostalgic recognition of the masculine otherness of sixteenth-century warrior culture. This imagination of the other-as-self is a line of analysis that accepts 'the religion of Japan is Japaneseness, which is best practiced in daily life.'[96] Tea culture insiders, as urban Japanese, might recognize their role as sacramental players in a drama that exceeds the boundaries of their tea-rooms.

Teshigahara's *Rikyū* constructs an exotic other for its domestic and foreign audiences. Both sets of audiences, seduced by discursive construction of generic authenticity, accept the film's instructive coupling of entertainment and education. The psychological tension between Rikyū and Hideyoshi can be read off as a salaryman's nightmare: how to live an ethical life within a social framework of vertical relationships between employers and their employees. These possible positions are not an exhaustive list of spectator options, but regardless of the various perspectives from which a viewer may identify and/or contest the content and context of *Rikyū*, it remains an act of cultural consumption experienced at the intersection of competing discourses of identity, commodity and the nation.

*Conclusion*

The pleasures of taking social theory into national cinema includes scrutinizing the salute of the grand master-director Teshigahara to The Grand Master, Sen no Rikyū. As part of an autoethnography of the life of the tea mind, paying close analytical attention to the surface features of film can loosen the power of tea institutions to control the perceptions and conceptual frameworks of their student subjects. The power of film to reveal tea-room desires to be authenticated is examined in the close readings of post-modern structural devices in the following chapter. The post-modern structure of the 1989 Kumai Kei film questions the modernist assumptions of Teshigahara's linear narrative. The Kumai film warns against unthinkingly accepting those orthodox desires that legitimate subjects as authentic believers of tradition.

CHAPTER 9

# LETHAL TRANSIENCE AS NATIONALIST FABLE: KUMAI KEI'S *SEN NO RIKYŪ*: *HONKAKUBŌ IBUN*



> The history of modern Japan is nothing more but a history in which a national community was formed as the community of unnatural death.[1]

> What matters is not the finished and edited film but the social processes of meaning production within which the film presence is inscribed.[2]

> Rikyū's death has been posthumously useful, and this means we should look not merely for 'facts' but for the tale's value for *chanoyu* … as a sacred history made meaningful by intensive remembering and rhetorical telling and retelling.[3]

> The costs of visuality cannot be calculated in the abstract, but only in specific local and historical constructs.[4]

*Introduction*

This chapter explores the relationship between the modern formation of Japanese subjectivity and cultural practices including institutionalized tea pedagogy, and how these two elements are represented in popular culture film texts. Tenbruck's 1988 insights are used to 'probe into the dynamic and productive constitution of representative culture, locate the origins of the dominant ideas, trace the lines and

networks of their spread and reception, [and] study the links between representative culture, political organization, social institutions, groups, and associations'.[5]

In mapping the context of this film, three issues frame later comments about Sen no Rikyū. First, the status of Kumai as a post-war director concerned with the oppressive costs of life under a national ideology. Second, the exercise of that Japanese ideology in constructing the realm of culture as a sphere requiring explicit official intervention. This will introduce something of the history of the lethal coupling of beauty, transience and the glories of a death in the name of the nation. Third, the role of history dramas, including the *jidai geki,* in Japanese national cinema and ways in which this genre supports and subverts the national ideology of cultural exceptionalism. These three steps are necessary to outline how the film deals with the provenance of tea, cherry blossoms and *seppuku*, and their configuration as persuasive symbols in Japanese nationalist discourse.

The intention here is not to conduct a textual analysis confined to the field of film that praises the subjectivity of the director or celebrates the aesthetic excellence of the film artefact. It is important to acknowledge that film participates in social organization by performing interpretive roles in two related industries. It is an element of '"the cultural apparatus" – the knowledge-producing industry, academia, research, and so on; and the "consciousness industry" – the mass media'.[6] Tensions between the field of culture and wider fields of domestic and international power are arenas fought over by those engaged in these two industries. These struggles are one important subtext for understanding how the film comments on its own participation in mass media and other discourses of cultural transmission.

### *Critique of everyday myths: locating Kumai's work*

The explicitly political content of Kumai's work has seen it grouped with other post-war directors including Urayama Kiriro and Shinoda Masahiro,[7] and Ōshima Nagisa and Yamamoto Satsuo.[8] Directors including Kumai, Ōshima and Yamamoto believed in democracy and aspired 'to a form of economics not based on exploitation'.[9] The commitment of Kumai, Urayama and Shinoda to democratic values meant they felt betrayed 'by reactionary movements like the red purge and the Self-Defence Force'.[10]

Kumai's work is concerned with how 'history' shapes life in post-war Japan. Themes addressed by Kumai include unsolved murder cases purportedly linked to US Army Intelligence (*Nihon Rettō*, [The Japanese Archipelago] 1965), the replacement of the nation by the company as the institution requiring the absolute sacrifice (*Kurobe no Taiyō* [Sun Over the Kurobe Gorge] 1968), prejudice among and against resident Koreans, atomic bomb victims and burakumin (*Chi no Mure*, [The Swarming Earth] 1969), and the construction of the history of *karayuki* women sold into overseas prostitution (*Sandakan hachiban shōkan: Bōkyō* [Sandakan Number 8] 1975).[11]

Kumai's territory is the fable of the nation, the individual costs of consuming that tale and the possibility of being consumed in the name of the nation by that myth. Critics including Satō Tadao have been sensitive to his exposure of the counterfactual elements of the myth of the Japanese nation. Satō's characterization of these early works listed above as 'villain films' with 'power structures as the enemies of democracy'[12] allows Satō to use Kumai's films as an opportunity to criticize the individually destructive programme of national (re)construction.

*Kurobe no Taiyō* (1968) appears to be an example of 'Michel Foucault's idea of "effective" history, which is composed of narrational memories of the particular'.[13] While the subject of this film is the exploitation of smaller companies by larger enterprises in the construction of the Fourth Kurobe Dam, the deliberate intrusion of documentary elements prevents a neat collapse into the grand narrative of the Japanese post-war recovery. Flashbacks of the Third Kurobe Dam, constructed during wartime by Koreans, and the final footage of the monument that lists the names of workers who died building the fourth dam emphasize the centrality of colonial injustice and individual sacrifice in this economic miracle. The device of documentary footage reinforces the film's social agenda.

In analysing this alternative version of the post-war boom, Satō notes the disturbing continuity of individual annihilation in this peacetime national service. The company has replaced the army as the instrument of conscription: the company demands the same level of devotion as the army. Democratic reforms in post-war labour standards did not alter the reality of daily on-site conditions: the job of 'workers from a small sub-contracting company … is little different from what the Koreans had been forced to do, and even resembles the suicidal missions given to kamikaze pilots'.[14]

If Satō's use of the wartime experiences of the film's production crew and audiences in his reading of the film is accepted as accurate, then Kumai has presented a public record of particular events that explains the origins of current injustices. These contemporary social problems are not limited to the after-shocks of symbolic violence inflicted upon Japanese citizens who heeded the call for individual subjection to national objectives. There is the long-term consequences of the actual violence endured by those Japanese who opposed militarist nationalism. Kumai's 1968 film about the sacrifices demanded of working-class Japanese and Koreans draws our attention to ongoing debates about the rights of *zainichi* Korean and Chinese migrant communities, whose presence in Japan is a consequence of Japanese colonialism, as well as the military sexual slavery of 'women from the Japanese colonies in Taiwan, Korea, and then China, and later, women from countries occupied by Japan'.[15] The following interview extract documents the importance given to questions of historical interpretation. These sentiments highlight the importance of institutionalizing memories of particular understandings in alternative narratives of the nation:

> I am a member of the Yosong Net, or more formally the Uli-Yosong (Korean Women) Network on Comfort Women, which was founded in November 1991 … Our goal is to study and solve the issue of 'comfort women,' or forced military prostitutes during the Second World War, by reexamining racism and sexism from our *zainichi* perspective … From a *zainichi* perspective, the Japanese invasion did not begin with the 15 Years War (which began in 1931 with the invasion of Manchuria and ended with the surrender in 1945) but rather started with the Sino-Japanese War (1894) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904). The Japanese need to reexamine their history and take these facts into consideration. After the Sino- and the Russo-Japanese wars, Japan made Taiwan and Korea into colonies, and then invaded China in order to establish the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. Consequently, unless Japanese begin to see these two wars as the beginning of colonization, they will not be able to understand the significance of war compensation to Koreans and Taiwanese, nor even why *zainichi* are in Japan.[16]

Viewers of the documentary footage incorporated in *Kurobe no Taiyō* see the monument that lists the workers consumed by the dam. Film audiences participate in a visual elegy for the memory of particular

workers who died in the service of national progress. The intended meaning of these elements underlines a generic element of what Satō has called villain films. Institutional forms of power are portrayed as anti-democratic forces. We are presented with a cause and effect relationship that positions these concrete events in a narrative of resistance: the costs and dangers of modern Japanese citizenship. Kumai's didactic cinema uses popular culture media to criticize government rhetoric that called for individual subordination to national progress. This outline of the film's effect is consistent with Satō's assertion that 'the sacrifices themselves inevitably became the result of a fanatical desire for economic development pursued "militaristically", and the upholding of the double structure of the Japanese economy'.[17]

This overview of the content and critical reception of Kumai's work demonstrates his topical concern with questions relating to history and the modern construction of Japanese subjectivity. The following section provides an overview of the process of using culture as a means of creating a sense of Japanese citizenship from the Meiji period onwards. Connections between this outline of the content of Kumai's work and wider struggles over specific cultural formations are addressed in later comments about Kumai's use of a structure of embedded flashbacks to extend the conventional range of the *jidai geki* genre.

## *Counter-Orientalism deconstructed: lethal politics of 'Japan the beautiful'*

The linking of beauty and death in Meiji literature was one example of how the aesthetic sphere created a fatalistic Japanese identity. The modern subjectivity of Japanese citizens was shaped by referring to the aristocratic model of Genji. The nation was unified as new genres of painting were imported from wartime enemies. Tea was another means of creating this image of Japan as an aesthetic idea. Presenting Japanese identity as an aesthetic remnant from court and warrior culture gave the new notion of nation the weight of tradition.

The materiality of these cultural traditions gave form to the national essence, making the idea of a modern Japanese identity credible. This aesthetic formation of the nation resulted in Japan becoming the community of premature death. Entertainment provided by a distinctive national culture performed an educational role, and these flows from

individual leisure to the national identity continue to give private pleasures a public significance.

Defining a nationalized cultural canon gave the sphere of culture an explicitly political function: 'From as early as the Iwakura mission to the United States and Europe (1871–73), Meiji leaders saw art as an important component to reinscribe Japan's past, thereby establishing the nation's subjectivity as it modernized.'[18] Successive governments created the imaginary community of Japan by weaving aesthetic elements together into a series of intertextual relationships that endorse the exercise of explicit state power against the interests of individuals. Significant changes in education and military regulations buttressed an aestheticizing of the inevitability of death to make possible Greater East Asian War demands for absolute loyalty to the state.

Institutionalized tea pedagogy positioned itself as an ideological tool of the state with Gengensai's *Chadō no Gen'ii* (Fundamental Principles of the Way of Tea), an 1872 petition to the Kyōto branch of the Meiji government. While seeking to position itself as the embodiment of 'Japanese values', tea also offered a range of discursively prescribed pleasures. These include giving tea students a social position in a hierarchal community of tea practitioners, facilitating progress through a structured curriculum of orthodox tea practices, and an emerging sense of good taste along the lines recommended by the respective schools of tea instruction.

It is important to note that Gengensai's petition meant that students were consuming an aesthetic of tea that had been legitimated by state power. Governmental control attempted to define the parameters of popular culture. The Houses of Sen as custodians of cultural practices that were codified, commodified and nationalized as authentic modes of citizenship benefitted from assuming the role of national representative. The power of the state was affirmed in the intersection of discourses of consumption and play. The creation of an authentic Japanese identity became the commodity underlying these 'traditional' leisure activities. Aesthetic play becomes a matter of national life and individual death when the *iemoto* system of tea instruction was reasserting itself during a period of intense effort to 'express, and define, what makes Japanese people and life so Japanese'.[19] Two large public gatherings honouring the national convention of *wabi cha* became part of an ultranational didactic trope that was concerned with

the transmission of *bushidō* values to all Japanese men, women and children.[20] Tea's cherishing of the instant appears to operate as an aesthetic extension of Tōjō's military regulations that demanded individual sacrifice in the name of the nation.

The wartime commemoration of Rikyū's *seppuku* at Daitokuji Temple and broadcast on national radio gave militarists an ideological text that could be appropriated to justify the divine right of Japan to unify East Asia. Rikyū was more than the Saint of Tea who embodied tea values and formalized a set of aesthetic preferences. The larger narrative of the wartime nation converted this transitive Rikyū-ness into an argument for a fatalistic patriotism. Dominant versions of this larger narrative of the nation emphasize the cultural sphere as the keystone of national identity while denying any link between aesthetics, politics and economics. The reign of Rikyū as the representative of that purely cultural Japan entity is an update of the tea-room politics practised by Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi. In contrast to the discrete military and commercial discussions that were held between generals and merchant tea masters in late sixteenth-century tea-rooms, the Urasenke school advertises itself as the embodiment of that Japan which is above economic and political concerns:

> In Japan today, there exists a conscious will to enhance cultural heritage, which is of value as a representation of Japanese culture in the archipelago and abroad. The constant stream of important people (ambassadors, prime ministers, presidents, etc.) in Konnichian, the headquarters of the Urasenke school in Kyōto, attest to the official character of this heritage.[21]

Kumai, like Teshigahara, politicizes tea practices and spaces. Speaking of an intimately small tea-room, Kumai's Rikyū uses a military metaphor when he tells Hideyoshi that 'It was my fort as a tea person.' (Scene 101) Custodians of tea were major players in 'the subtle subvention of popular cultural traditions to the national(ist) cause'.[22] Bringing culture into the national sphere was achieved by silencing any link between aesthetics, politics and economics.

## *Cinema's resistant and reactionary framing of the nation:* jidai geki

For activist film-makers including Kumai, the history drama, or *jidai geki*, has a problematic pedigree. This should not imply that the genre

has an immutable reactionary bias or that individual film-makers are incapable of subverting the surface grammar of the genre. While its feudal themes and settings implicate it in nationalist discourses that may justify current social inequalities, film-makers working in this genre could, in the manner of Shakespeare's historical plays, use temporal distance or geographic relocation to criticize the here-and-now *and* circumvent censorship.

Such retreats into the past as a form of resistance is not always effective. The experience of Kobayashi Hideo, author of a series of essays written during the war and published as *Mujō to iu Koto* ('Transience'), suggests that attempts to criticize present excesses by romanticizing a purer more authentic past may simply be co-opted to deepen the rhetorical foundation of the current regime. Once a text is publicly disseminated, sincerity of authorial intention does not guarantee textual reception in the mode preferred by its creator, and its 'meaning' will be increasingly determined by a whole barrage of private, historical, national, and intertextual contexts beyond the author's control or anticipation. Kobayashi's work on transience may have been intended to convey 'This madness will pass'. However, the military government's control of the cultural sphere through the Dai-Nippon Bungaku Hōkokukai (Japanese Literature Patriotic Association) and the Dai-Nippon Genron Hōkokukai (Japanese Journalism Patriotic Association) took this resistant position and appropriated it to serve the national good: 'You are all expendable in the name of the Emperor.'

This sort of propaganda-driven textual drift became more probable after the 1934 'Rationale for the proposed establishment of a National Policy on Film'. Film's integration of information and education was a power more convincing than formal schooling. This recognition of the domestic and international propaganda value of film was the basis for an argument that 'it is necessary to guide and control the film industry, which has up till now been left without positive guidance or control and been guided purely by the profit motive. It is impossible to depend on private companies alone to project a positive image of Japan abroad.'[23]

Examining Satō's observations highlights the problems the *jidai geki* posed for Kumai, and how the post-war genre evolved after the lifting of wartime government control of the cultural sphere. While

'Kobayashi's concept of evanescence (*mujō-kan*) was the most influential ideology during World War II',[24] the distant past depicted in these *jidai geki* gave no direct support to Greater East Asia rhetoric, and the portrayal of an aestheticized historical accuracy was even regarded as progressive. Conventional uses of the genre may continue to have a psychological relevance for contemporary audiences because they were 'depicting characters who find themselves in adverse situations and have to cope, whether gallantly, ineptly, or desperately'.[25] However, beyond the comfort of this psychological identification and a vicarious combination of admiration, superiority or sympathy is a deeper, more bestial terror.

It is this element of the *jidai geki* that renders the genre problematic to film-makers including Kumai who are constructing an alternative to the state-centred narrative, and who sometimes invert the hierarchal relationship between individual and nation by foregrounding the mechanics of narrative construction to expose omissions and contradictions in the official narrative. What is terrifying about *jidai geki* is how they 'thematically … negated the anti-establishment and escapist tendencies of the nihilistic and liberal period dramas, stressing instead the idea of compliance with the times and the theme of the Japanese people as a fated, common body. They portrayed individual destinies as mere ripples on the great wave of history.'[26] As small splashes in the great ocean of East Asia, individuals were rendered by *jidai geki* in the same manner as Meiji interpretations of *Genji* texts: duty bound to accept their transience in the eternal narrative of service to Emperor and nation.

Satō captures how the *jidai geki* was put into national service around the time of the formation of the National Policy on Film. The scope of national ambition exceeded the confines of the Japanese archipelago. Commodified cultural practices, including tea, became evidence that supported the Pan-Asian argument for politically expanding those horizons. As individuals fashioned themselves along the lines of the dominant national culture, the *jidai geki* was both a persuasive support to aggressive expansion and a psychological remedy that prepared citizens for the indignity of defeat. This element of representative culture was both responsible for and necessary to:

> all those Japanese who, in spite of their lack of strength, put on a bold face and went off to the Sino-Japanese and Pacific Wars. In those dark days

> both the strong, who in reality were few in number, and the weak calmly acknowledged their combined weakness. It was believed that as long as there were those who, despite their weakness, were willing to submit their all to the highest good, it was possible for Japan to restore order to the world. This was a terrifying, savage way of thinking and the exact opposite of humanism. However, rooted in the darkest desires of people, it had the power to captivate them at a time when the outer veneer of civilization was being stripped away.[27]

Abe draws on Todorov's 1984 distinction between 'sacrifice violence' and 'massacre violence' to note that the 'former makes a spectacle of society's power over its members, while the latter threatens to reveal its essential contradictions and weaknesses; in cinema sacrifice violence is aestheticized, while massacre violence must remain hidden from the screens'.[28] One characteristic of feature films and made-for-television dramas that represent the death of Sen no Rikyū is the extent to which his death is not represented realistically. In the 1996 NHK period drama *Hideyoshi*, the death of Rikyū is represented in slow motion by the twirling of a white camellia as it falls. Gregory Levine notes this tendency to avoid realistic depictions of the Rikyū *seppuku* in Teshigahara's *Rikyū*, despite the reported display of Rikyū's head at the feet of his crucified statue at Modoribashi:

> There is no scene of Rikyū's suicide, let alone the gruesome addition of his decapitated head to the effigy; these moments are eschewed in favour of a scene in which the tea master disappears into a windblown grove of shattered bamboo trunks and wraith-like empty suits of samurai armor amid the ominous thunder.[29]

In a manner consistent with these examples of sacrifice violence, Kumai aestheticizes the death of Rikyū film by using the symbolic language of transience to make a political comment:

> The direct representation of sacrifice violence is found mostly in fiction films. Feature filmmaking allowed vast control over lighting, camera movement, and special effects, enabling film makers to aestheticize death. Furthermore, sacrifice requires heroes, and the melodrama of fiction film sets the stage for individuals to face death bravely with wonderful music and blazing special effects.[30]

Given the ideological baggage embedded in the genre's heritage, content and monumental style, how does Kumai resolve this challenge

to his preference for exposing the counter-factual elements of the narrative of the nation? How does the film minimize the risk of 'complicity with the conventions it subjects to critique'?[31] How useful is the Satō category of villain film for understanding Kumai's critique of tea's status as a self-appointed representative of Japanese cultural uniqueness?

The following section shows how the film adopts Tenbruck's strategy and locates tea discourse in representative culture. Representative culture is that political organization of social institutions, groups, and associations that insists on the primacy of the nation over the individual. Beyond mapping Rikyū's importance for tea practitioners, the film insists on Rikyū's utility to the dominant interests of the state. The Kumai film is his considered response to the state's ideological application of the aesthetic sphere. This response entails creating a fatalistic Japanese identity through coercive interpretations of *Genji* reinforced by the visual propaganda of *sensōga*.

### *Film as history: tea's aesthetic of* seppuku *and* sakura

*Sen no Rikyū: Honkakubō Ibun* is a reflexive history that questions our received knowledge of Rikyū. It subverts the *jidai geki* genre's formulaic insistence on the neat illusion of history unfolding. This subversion is effected thematically and structurally. The spectacle of a linear history is further disrupted by 'inviting the spectator to disassemble and displace the homogenizing effects of sync sound film making'.[32] A complex structure of embedded flashbacks which integrate a highly modulated combination of visual elements (integrating a switch from monochrome to colour, slow motion, and the dissynchronization of sound and image) draws the viewer away from the conventional willing suspension of disbelief towards two points: first, an awareness of the mechanism of film as we watch the on-screen images; and second, the contingent and dialectical nature of the film's narrative. In addition to expanding *jidai geki* conventions of theme, structure and visual style, certain elements of archival history are reconfigured to support the meta-historical aspects of the film, including its comments on the role of authenticity in cultural transmission.

Despite the impression created by the English title, thematically the

subject matter is not the death and life of Rikyū. By setting the film twenty-seven years after the death of Rikyū, there is a focus on the formation of the Rikyū legend. The English rendering of *Sen no Rikyū: Honkakubō Ibun* as *Death of a Tea Master* is in one sense an effective substitute for a more direct translation because it gives those not literate in Japanese history some of the general knowledge of Japanese audiences. With this title, there can be no slickly edited heightening and release of tension because Rikyū's death is a public fact. Instead our attention is drawn towards the relationship between Rikyū and Honkakubō, and the extent to which Honkakubō will accommodate the obsessive interest of Oda Uraku (1547–1622) in the death of Rikyū by *seppuku*. However, what is lost in the English title is the sense that what we are watching is an image of the written account of Honkakubō, a document that remains long after its author has gone. James T. Araki in his translation of the first chapter of Inoue's novel captures this nuance with the title *Memoirs of Monk Honkaku*.[33] This omission from the film's English title of a perspective removed from the narrative it relays is regrettable because the principal thematic concern of the film is the connection between event, second-hand hearsay, and myth. The film examines the relationship between a real or reported event and its subsequent representation in tea history as a precursor to being co-opted into the larger narrative of the nation. Anecdotes are an integral part of tea pedagogy and their use as structuring devices in the film confirms that cultural transmission is among the film's major concerns.

Honkakubō's status as the authoritative repository of Rikyū folklore is constructed and confirmed in the film by the persistent questioning about the manner of Rikyū's death by Uraku, Rikyū's grandson Sōtan and Furuta Oribe. In the Kumai film, the Rikyū legend is primarily developed by the pathological fascination of the film Uraku with the *seppuku* of Rikyū, Yamanoue Sōji and Furuta Oribe. Underlying this interest in the unnatural death of Rikyū is the role of *seppuku* as the ultimate signifier of an authentic *chajin*, 'man of tea'. It is in the shadow of this obsession that the ramifications of the earlier comments about the ideological use of *Genji* to establish a lethal link between death, beauty and national service to an ideal resonate with the film's examination of the Rikyū legend in terms of the connection between *seppuku* and the ideological use of the four seasons.

Combining Satō's earlier analysis of Kumai's explicit concern with the fable of the nation with Sakai's 1997 overview of the mechanics of an aesthetic death in the name of the nation suggests a similarity between Rikyū's resoluteness towards his own death and the sacrifice demanded of wartime Japanese citizens, including the fifteenth Urasenke Grand Master who was a member of a special attack unit.

In the flashback to their final tea, Rikyū rejects Hideyoshi's statement that Rikyū's *seppuku* is not necessary (Scene 91). When Hideyoshi requests another bowl of tea, Rikyū refuses the request and thanks Hideyoshi for the gift of *seppuku* as an opportunity to understand the real meaning of 'person of tea' (Scenes 92–99). In contrast to Rikyū's embrace of *seppuku* as a self-destructive retort to determinism, an action we may understand as his attempt to reassert control over his own actions, Uraku's anxiety about his inadequacy as a man of tea centres on his untimely failure to achieve an authentic death. Rather than living an individual sense of tea values, the film Uraku is convinced that authenticity is mediated by the external authority of tradition.

In Kumai's film, Uraku feels inadequate because he cannot measure up to the historical examples of Rikyū (Sōeki), Sōji and Oribe. The following extracts from the film transcript illustrate the extent to which Uraku has devalued himself by internalizing a narrowly-defined notion of what makes an authentic person of tea, death by *seppuku*:

| | |
|---|---|
| Uraku: | Sōeki cut his stomach. Yamanoue Sōji and Furuta Oribe also cut their own stomaches. To become a great tea master, I wonder is it not necessary to cut one's own stomach? (Scene 16) |

In the same way that many Japanese soldiers who had the good fortune to become wartime survivors feel a sense of guilt at still being alive, Uraku finds something disgraceful in his continued existence:

| | |
|---|---|
| Uraku: | How many years have passed since Rikyū was sentenced to his death? |
| Honkakubō: | It's been twenty-seven years. |
| Uraku: | So many years! [Uraku's hands shake. He pauses.] I am the only one who is living shamefully. (Scene 17) |

Uraku studies the *seppuku* examples of Sōji and Oribe as a way of deepening his understanding of Rikyū. His pursuit of this Rikyū ideal is a goal that cannot be attained because of historical differences

between the social worlds of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The implication that Sōji may have decided to choose death by *seppuku* reinforces the sense of inadequacy that Uraku feels. Not only did Sōji have the courage to commit *seppuku*, he had enough foresight to consider leaving a message for posterity:

| | |
|---|---|
| Uraku: | Please forgive my rudeness, but can you tell me briefly what this book written by Yamanoue Sōji is about? |
| Honkakubō: | Well … in short, it's a book of masterpiece tea utensils, the secret teachings but … |
| Uraku: | But? |
| Honkakubō: | He says in the end, 'After I go to Kyōto and have passed away, I want to leave a message for my students.' |
| Uraku: | 'After I go to Kyōto and have passed away' … |
| Honkakubō: | That's right. He knew he was going to die. |
| Uraku: | That's incredible. [Uraku is lost in thought for a while.] (Scene 50) |

Uraku believes that the status of tea as a battlefield death rite implies a duty for tea masters to act with the sort of determination that was befitting of warriors. If being served tea by Rikyū before a battlefield departure was a prelude to an authentic death as a warrior, then it is appropriate that *seppuku* is considered to be the authentic death for a person of tea. Rikyū and Oribe both demonstrate that mastery of tea went beyond the parameters of Zen pursuits of nothingness by embracing death by *seppuku*. Uraku makes their *unattainable* ideal his ideal:

| | |
|---|---|
| Uraku: | Rikyū had witnessed many commanders' deaths. You'll never guess how many of them left for the battlefield after drinking the tea that Rikyū served. Most of them ended up dying in the battle, though. After all, it would have been considered heartless if Rikyū had died peacefully on *tatami*, after witnessing all these painful deaths, wouldn't it? Rikyū didn't see the tea-room as a place to practice Zen. He saw it as a place to decide one's life. [Honkakubō nods, staring at Uraku.] Furuta Oribe also … (Scene 63) |

In addition to studying the writings of Sōji, Uraku was taking his lead from Oribe. Uraku respected Sōji for having the foresight to antic-

ipate the mode of his death, and the notion of a timely death appears to have been important to Oribe and Uraku:

| | |
|---|---|
| Uraku: | Now I think I know what Oribe was thinking about. |
| Honkakubō: | What was he thinking? Please tell me … |
| Uraku: | He was trying to follow Rikyū … and die after him. |
| Honkakubō: | [looking impressed] Was he really trying to do that … ? |
| Uraku: | [Uraku nods] Oribe must have been looking for a place to die … he didn't want people to think that he had lost the chance to follow Rikyū … As a matter of fact, Ōsaka Castle was attacked and broken down back then, and those who had been involved with the Ōsaka side were being accused at that time. (Scene 73) |

Uraku believes that Oribe's search for an opportunity for a timely death was not the only example of Oribe emulating Rikyū. In the manner of Rikyū in Teshigahara's film, Kumai's Oribe expresses his independent spirit by not accepting any assistance that might change his fate. Kumai presents Rikyū and Oribe as chosing the abstraction of an ideal, a lethal ideal that transcended Zen concerns with nothingness, rather than a more social orientation to the world that would allow them to keep living. Scene 75 implies that Uraku was a figure with powerful connections, but historically, as the youngest brother of Oda Nobunaga, Uraku may have been able to exercise some influence and intervene on behalf of Rikyū and Oribe. The desire of Rikyū and Oribe to embody an ideal, even to the point of self-destruction, is a deeply masculinist position:

| | |
|---|---|
| Uraku: | I could have helped Oribe if he had asked me to do so … but he never did … |
| Honkakubō: | … |
| Uraku: | Oribe didn't ask for my help in the same way that his master Rikyū never did so either … He wanted to follow his master's path. Yes … it was definitely Oribe who attended that strange tea gathering at Myōkian in Yamasaki, as a guest. Oribe really was sitting there. [Uraku and Honkakubō look at each other.] (Scene 75) |

Uraku painfully realizes his limits at the intersection of his perceived lack of authenticity and his desire to embody the ideal of a disappeared age. Uraku understands that he is trapped between a narrow and unat-

tainable ideal and his own sense of inadequacy when measured by the insistence that only real people of tea can cut their stomachs open. Despite Uraku's deeply felt demand to embody the highest values of that masculinist tradition of Rikyū, Sōji and Oribe, and his equally transparent realization that he cannot achieve the status of their authenticity, the sombre screen presence of Uraku suggests that he continues to be seduced by this image of the real person of tea:

> Uraku: Sōji committed *hara-kiri*, and so did Rikyū, and now Oribe, as well. There must be no *chajin* [man of tea] left anymore, no-one who could follow them … [Uraku shrugs his shoulders.] I wouldn't want to do that … I am a *chajin* even though I won't do *hara-kiri* … hahaha … [Uraku laughs loudly, but his deeply pensive feelings can be seen in his behaviour.] (Scene 77)

Although Uraku has said that *seppuku* is something deeper than Zen and is not necessary for the true believers of tea, he continues to be defined by the gap between what he has said and his belief that *seppuku* does separate the real tea men from the would-be players. The intensity of Uraku's demand to be authenticated as a real person of tea and, therefore, assimilated into the epic history of tea legends does not diminish, even on his deathbed. Throughout the film Uraku has been quietly envious of the intimacy of Honkakubō with Rikyū. Uraku is very impressed by the revelation that Honkakubō speaks with Rikyū in dreams. In Scene 7, Uraku remembers that Honkakubō has seen dream images of Rikyū walking ahead on a lonely, withered path, about which Honkakubō opines that 'For a tea person, that path must be a way to the next world, as well as being a way in this world.' Even on his deathbed, Uraku is diminished by the epic scale of the Rikyū ideal.

> Uraku: [staring directly at Honkakubō] I wonder if I can follow the path you dreamed about … maybe I cannot … because I am not doing *hara-kiri* … I am dying without any pain or suffering … (Scene 84)

Honkakubō finally succumbs to the intensity of Uraku's demand to know of the last moments of Rikyū. Honkakubō relents by giving an account of the final tea between Hideyoshi and Rikyū, despite Rikyū's previous complaints about always being pestered by people in life and death.

According to the Kumai film, Uraku's compulsive interest in Rikyū's *seppuku*, the bloodstained yardstick of Momoyama period (1568–1600) tea of Rikyū, Yamanoue Sōji and Furuta Oribe, who all died by *seppuku*, demands 'the blind submission of the individual to totality through the logic of communalist identification'.[34] In the film, this trinity of the brotherhood of *seppuku* gather for a tense and terse discussion about the ramifications of a hanging scroll's meaning. The calligraphy of the scroll cannot be read with certainty but the men agree that the written character means either death or nothingness. The silent conclusive nod that ends the exchange can be read as a shared preference to choose a *seppuku* death that elevates agency rather than living on and melting into nothingness:

> It should be mentioned that this is a retrospective imagining, from the viewpoint of one who missed the opportunity of 'dying in time', of the death one could have died. But it is because of the retrospective time inherent in this imagining, which is almost always accompanied by some sense of guilt as well as the yearning for assimilation into the whole, that one's death can be thematicized as sacrificial devotion that is believed to serve to integrate a part (an individual) into the whole (the nation).[35]

The film suggests that *seppuku* was the rite of entry into this community of ultimate aesthetes, and Sakai's comment from the context of a discussion about Japan during the early Shōwa period neatly summarizes Uraku's experience of Rikyū's death as his incorporation into the history of tea and the nation.

> Sōji: In the case of '*shi*' [death] being written on a scroll, everything will vanish. But in the case of '*mu*' [nothingness] being written on a scroll, nothing will vanish. In the case of '*shi*' [death], everything will vanish [Rikyū nods in fierce agreement, looking at Sōji. Sōji turns to the other guest whose identity Honkakubō unsuccessfully tries to clarify by asking Rikyū in Scene 61 and is finally deduced by Uraku in Scene 75 and nods.] (Scene 52)

Tea-room camaraderie, with its vicarious participation in questions surrounding Rikyū's annihilation, reads as a metaphor for the price of being a legitimate subject. In the Kumai film, *seppuku* is the authentic *chajin* death. For contemporary audiences *seppuku* signifies the cost of wartime citizenship: succumbing to the lethal embrace of the nation.

Implicit in this argument for tea's contribution to the national identification with the community of unnatural death is the claim that Meiji literature, Shōwa painting, and Meji, Shōwa and Heisei tea practices constitute a network of meanings. This configuration of interpretations achieves a critical mass because of their collective celebration of transience as an essentially Japanese destiny: 'The Japanese hate to see death met irresolutely and lingerly; they desire to be blown away like the cherries before the wind, and no doubt this Japanese attitude towards death must have gone very well with Zen.'[36] Beyond this thematic unity around transience, these texts constitute a group because they are examples of 'propagandists using pretended traditionalism to legitimate and mystify a thoroughly contemporary centralized and bureaucratic state'.[37] While the film addresses the cultural manipulation of national identity, it is not necessary to speculate whether Kumai has responded to particular literary and visual works. The analysis here 'does not require a specific familiarity with the singular texts involved, but is a reading that occurs between texts'.[38] As the Chapter 3 argument attempted to demonstrate, the meaning of tea discourse and ways of speaking about the Japanese nation are all sustained by such networks of interpretation.

This post-modern practice of reading between groups of texts helps map the contours of the ideology of tea. Instead of a narrow concern with reading *inside* a specific set of texts, this expanded interest in reading *between* texts renders visible three functions of ideology. The social function of ideology is to help create the coherence that organizes group attitudes. With this social function in place, ideology exerts some influence on cognitive structures as group attitudes are used as a model for experiencing, interpreting and explaining the social world. These cognitive structures are then reproduced at the textual level of discursive expression as personal opinions, taking the form of speech, writing and action.[39]

### *History into film: emphasizing transmission and 'authenticity'*

In adapting the novel of Inoue Yasushi, Kumai changes 'history' to raise questions about the place of the authenticity in cultural transmission. The film realigns the relationship of Uraku and Honkakubō to Rikyū. Documentary sources suggest that Uraku may be considered to

be one of Rikyū's seven 'disciples'. Honkakubō was a guest at the 1588 farewell for Daitokuji abbot Kokei Sōchin who was banished to the provincial wilds of Kyūshū, and according to the *Rikyū Hyakkai Ki*, Honkakubō was Rikyū's sole guest on the morning of 23 September 1590.[40] This cursory information implies that although Honkakubō was one of Rikyū's trusted intimates, film viewers should expect Uraku to receive Rikyū's teachings because of his being considered as one of the inner circle of seven.

Historically Oda Uraku (1547–1622), youngest brother of Nobunaga and eleventh son of Oda Nobuhide (1510–51), gave his full attention to tea after he retired to Kyōto's Higashiyama in 1615, and the Uraku chanoyu lineage continued when his son Yorinaga became its second master. Murai Yasuhiko compares fifteen historical sources that list the probable members of the so-called Seven Disciples of Rikyū. Uraku is one of thirteen men named, and his membership is confirmed in seven of those fifteen sources.[41] However, Murai suggests that Uraku did not act as if he were a disciple of Rikyū:

> I would attribute his undertaking of repairs to the Samega well, which is historically connected with Murata Shukō (1423–1501; regarded as the founder of *chanoyu*), and his erecting of a monument for Takeno Jōō (1502–55; a disciple of Murata Shukō), as expressions of his desire to stand above Rikyū and align himself directly with the original forefathers of *chanoyu*.[42]

By arguing that Uraku sought to bypass Rikyū, Murai's account contradicts the simplification of tea history by anecdotes that celebrate Rikyū as the founder of tea discourse.

It is significant that the film undercuts this historically based expectation that Uraku be the custodian of the anecdotal Rikyū. Instead of Murai's assertion of the historical Uraku's *independence* from Rikyū, the film Uraku is pathologically consumed by the spectacle of Rikyū as an ideal who can at best be aspired to but never exceeded.

Throughout the film, Uraku is obsessed with the death of Rikyū, and the role of *seppuku* as designating an authentic *chajin*, until his deathbed participation in the film's imaginary presentation of Rikyū's final public tea and *seppuku*. *Seppuku* has become a fetish for Uraku because he confusedly uses the final moments of Rikyū's life to represent its richly contradictory complexity. The film therefore comments

on the power of narrow definitions of authenticity to inflame the desire to be consumed, bringing to mind the work of contemporary artist Jenny Holzer: 'Protect me from what I want.'

In contrast to the differences between the historical Uraku and Kumai's film Uraku, the film elevates Honkakubō from the historical figure who occasionally was an intimate associate of Rikyū. In the film, Honkakubō is a person of tea who has a vital connection with Rikyū and comes to achieve similar existential truths mastered by his spiritual leader. The portrayal of this relationship as a legitimate tea relationship that benefits Honkakubō demonstrates that Rikyū is alive as a *chajin*, a legendary embodiment of ethical values, and a set of aesthetic preferences.

With the later repetition of this image of Rikyū dismissing Honkakubō, the impression is no longer the futility of attempting to mimic Rikyū. Coupled with the dialogue where Rikyū insists on the existence of that cold and withered path as his road as a tea person, and the implication that there are different routes for others, the repetition of Rikyū dismissing Honkakubō points to how the *iemoto* system has from the 1740s onwards hollowed out tea's self-image as aesthetically iconoclastic. The following anecdote, 'Shō-ō divines the intention of his host', suggests something of tea's pretensions to a radical finesse:

> Shō-ō was once going to a Cha-no-yu with Rikyū when he caught sight of a flower vase with two handles in a curio shop. He thought he would go in and buy it on his way back and did so only to find that Rikyū had forestalled him. Being invited to a Tea some while after by Rikyū it occurred to him that this vase would be used, and so it turned out, for there it stood in the Tokonoma, but it had one of its handles broken off. 'Ah,' he said 'then I shall have no need of the hammer I brought in my sleeve to knock it off, for I could not bear the idea of it being used with both.'[43]

Such anecdotes present tea as the firm display of aesthetic judgement. However, the film Rikyū's rejection of Honkakubō's diligent riverside devotion suggests a harsh judgement of the descent into the reductive orthodoxy of *sadō*. This sentiment is neatly expressed in the following anecdote, 'Oda Yūraku's mistake', which ironically warns provincial consumers of sixteen generations of Kyōto institutionalization against simply following the leader.

> One day he [Oda Uraku, here referred to as Yūraku] went to visit Rikyū and found the Master fitting a lid to a Tea-caddy. He selected an old one and observed to Yūraku that this suited [it] much better than the larger one it already had. Yūraku expressed his admiration. Some time after this Yūraku fitted an old lid to one of his own tea-caddies and showed it to Rikyū for his approval. 'I don't think much of your discrimination,' was the comment. 'A new lid would suit this one better. A stork's bill does not fit a duck's neck. Mere imitation without regard for what is harmonious is quite contrary to the spirit of Teaism.'[44]

The moral of this anecdote is captured in the film. An aged Honkakubō exits, finding his own way along that dry river. As he walks along the river that Rikyū claimed for himself, Honkakubō appears to be content as he leaves behind the obsessive anxieties of Uraku. The audience is left to ponder whether Honkakubō is copying Rikyū as he progresses along the rocky river. Is that dry path the authentic way of Honkakubō, or has the disciple completely internalized the example of the master?

*Cinema as meta-history and the politics of Sen cooperation*

Assistant Director Hara Kazuo outlines how the participation of the Houses of Sen in the making of the film was not a matter of unconditional co-operation.[45] The Sen requested that the film makers avoid a realistic depiction of Rikyū's *seppuku*. Although this condition resulted in reducing the value of the meeting between actor Mifune and an unnamed *seppuku* researcher, it also gave the film an additional metahistorical significance. The film's concerns expand from issues of what constitutes authenticity and questions of cultural transmission in the context of tea. The expressionist use of the almost monochrome *sakura* sequence breaks the Kumai film out of its discourse of tea anecdotes into the fable of the nation. Instead of the blazing special effects referred to earlier by Abe, Kumai used off-camera giant fans to propel cherry petals.

In accommodating the Sen desire to respect a taboo internal to the world of tea, Kumai and Hara link *seppuku* and cherry blossoms, and this gives the film its contemporary resonance to post-war audiences. This reading of the film is consistent with Satō's earlier comments on the militaristic pursuit of economic development requiring fanatical

kamikaze-like devotion to duty. The link between *seppuku* and *sakura* in militarist discourses of the nation is mirrored by the *sakura* sequence that brings the fable of the nation into the foreground of Kumai's rendition of the Rikyū legend.

Kumai's *sakura* sequence comments upon these uses of the *sakura* motif during early Shōwa and its presence today. While it may be argued that some of these examples which were outlined in a previous chapter are of questionable historical importance because of their wartime brevity, it should not be forgotten that these elements remain a problematic part of public life in Japan. The film is concerned with the power of an authentic culture to shape individual desire in a manner that results in self-destruction. The use of a national symbol, *sakura*, means Kumai is not merely concerned with being a real person of tea. Japanese citizenship, in both its wartime and peacetime manifestations, is at the heart of Kumai's concerns.

### *Structural outline: anecdotes as quotation marks*

The film has four structural elements: Rikyū as legendary dream, Rikyū the living legend, Honkakubō's 'present', and the series of flashbacks with its multiple narrators.[46] These four levels are unified in Honkakubō's subjectivity, and the first two levels are marked using the same Rikyū theme music. Borrowing Baron's analysis of *The Player* as a strong version of the post-modern film narrative, the complexity of these four structural elements, in particular the embedded flashbacks that are occasionally introduced and concluded by different narrators (Scenes 18–26), and the film's meta-historical concerns allow it to be categorized as a relatively weaker but nonetheless identifiably post-modern film. Even as a moderate example of the post-modern film narrative, Kumai's film requires us to reconsider:

> existing conceptions of suture, for it generates a type of post-modern pleasure that does not arise from identification with characters, the camera, or a reality present elsewhere, but instead occurs in the course of making one's own way through continually shifting levels of fiction.[47]

The flow between these various anecdotes inside the film replicates the tensions between the oral and written registers of tea history about the death of Rikyū. Our knowledge of that death is produced by a com-

petitive dialogue between the contradictory investments of these numerous tales. The partial nature of these speculations about the Rikyū *seppuku* results in 'its proliferating, shifting growth as an urban legend'.[48]

There are two appearances of Rikyū as legendary dream. Once past the opening titles of the film – almost monochrome shots of Daitokuji Daisenin lightly dusted with snow that implicate zen in the cherry blossom myth – the legendary dream level frames the rest of the film. The first dream segment is Scene 2, a black and white image of the elusiveness of attaining the ideal of Rikyū. The rock garden of the title sequence has become a barren riverside where Honkakubō sees Rikyū ahead in the mist. Despite Rikyū's dismissive wave and imperative to return home, Honkakubō runs after his master in slow motion. The sound of his voice and his physical movements lose their synchronicity before he tumbles out of the bottom of the frame.

This film Rikyū persona is both the spiritual teacher of Honkakubō and a representation of the point of origin of a sixteen generation tradition outside the world of Kumai's film. This legendary dream sequence can be read as a comment on cultural transmission. When Rikyū attempts to discourage Honkakubō from following his example, the film Rikyū is rejecting the four hundred year legacy of Rikyū-as-discursive construction of the grand master system and its legitimacy as 'tradition'. Scene 110 is the second appearance of Rikyū as legendary dream and occurs during Honkakubō's account of his final tea with Rikyū. This black and white dream image is a variation of the image of Rikyū dissuading Honkakubō from following him.

There are four structural elements and the legendary dream level is centred on this cold and withered path. The film Rikyū says his deadly path is necessary for an age of military conflict, and it may be Kumai's optimism speaking when Rikyū speculates his lonely path will be forgotten when peace prevails. It is important to read this *jidai geki* film by applying the characterization of Kumai's earlier films, with their explicit social commentary, as villain films identifying institutionalized forms of power as an obstacle to democracy.[49] The *seppuku* of the historical Rikyū gave early Shōwa period political elites a precedent for creating a role model for Japanese boy pilots and sailors who 'volunteered' for the *tokkōtai* special attack units.[50] This gendered role model was structured by combining a notion of transience with an insistence

on loyalty to abstract ideals rather than life itself and the more immediately social pleasures of kinship. During the so-called enlightened peace of the Shōwa period, the *tokkōtai* ideal was inflicted by the strong on the weak by invoking the sacrament of the Japanese nation.

When the film Rikyū says his path will not be necessary in an age of peace, it is important to remember that this path did not disappear with Rikyū. Kumai's film presents *seppuku* as an option selected by Rikyū, but during the early Shōwa period there were attempts, of varying degrees, to impose this ideal of serving the interests of the nation and the policy of total warfare upon the whole Japanese populace.

| | |
|---|---|
| Rikyū: | That was my path. It is not the path you should enter. [Honkakubō looks up disappointedly.] |
| Honkakubō: | Why is that? |
| Rikyū: | It was Rikyū's path as a tea person. Each tea person has a different path. |
| Honkakubō: | … [Rikyū straightens his face.] |
| Rikyū: | I don't know whether it was good or bad, but I ended up choosing such a coldly dead path as the way of tea in the age of wars. |
| Honkakubō: | Where in the world is the end of the path? |
| Rikyū: | That path is continuing forever. But when there comes a time when there is no war, nobody is going to remember it. |
| Honkakubō: | … |
| Rikyū: | That is my own path therefore I believe it should disappear with me. |
| Honkakubō: | Your own path … (Scene 111) |

When Rikyū asserts the uniqueness of the path of each tea person in this scene, it seems reasonable to conclude that Rikyū would consider Uraku's obsession with *seppuku* as the definitive act of a person of tea to be a mistake.[51] The *tokkōtai* special attack units were imposed on the governed by their governors. In contrast to this top down pressure for Japanese youth to be like *sakura*, Uraku of his own volition pursues the *seppuku* ideal he cannot attain. *Sakura and seppuku* are united in the obsession of Uraku in a manner that contradicts the Rikyū doctrine of a different path for each person.

The film Rikyū celebrates individual insight and agency in a manner consistent with the Zen doctrine of authentic experience. The gap between what Rikyū says about finding one's way and the slavish mim-

icry of Uraku is a rejection by the film of the validity of attempts by 'traditions', such as formal tea pedagogy, and by extension, categories including the nation, to shape desire and subjectivity.

Pairing the repetition of this black and white image of Rikyū rejecting Honkakubō with the persistent enquiries of Uraku about the death of Rikyū reinforces a central theme of the film, the danger of accepting narrowly-defined versions of authenticity. At the end of the film Honkakubō advances beyond the definitions of others, and his calm appearance at the legendary dream level without Rikyū suggests he has achieved a form of knowledge deeper than the obsessive form of unity with Rikyū desired by Uraku.

This final dream collapses the initial division between the title sequence and dreaming the impossible dream of attaining Rikyūhood. Honkakubō's resolute movement alone off into the mist as the credits roll down the screen can be read as more than a rejection of the constraints of institutionalized tea. The presence of the Rikyū theme music with the image of that cold and withered path suggests that Honkakubō has avoided the fate of Uraku. Honkakubō has gone beyond that narrowly-defined notion of tea authenticity that demands *seppuku* as the real death for a man of tea. Unlike Uraku, Honkakubō can live without the validation of externally defined role models. This final dream is Scene 132, the film's closing image. The extent to which Uraku is psychologically crippled by his sense of inadequacy before the legend of Rikyū and the examples of Sōji and Oribe suggests that while the category of master narrative should be treated with suspicion, the steady exit of Honkakubō through the top of the frame suggests the satisfaction of a way of life outside authoritative categories.

The second structural element is Rikyū the immortal legend. Rikyū is dead and yet he appears alive in the company of Honkakubō. Rikyū the living legend appears three times. The first time is in response to the devotional rites and the questions of Honkakubō that arise from Honkakubō's interrogation by Uraku about Rikyū's *seppuku*. Rikyū's appearance in Scene 46 is heralded by the Rikyū theme music, and he appears first as a disembodied voice in the candlelit memorial altar in Honkakubō's modest house. As the funeral tablet then dissolves into the material form of Rikyū's torso we are made conscious that we are watching a film. Rikyū proceeds to scold Honkakubō for asking ques-

tions about the details of the suffering that consumed Rikyū's life (Scene 46). The second time Rikyū the living legend appears accompanied by the Rikyū theme music is Scene 58. Rikyū is seated, waiting for Honkakubō to return after saying farewell to Uraku. They then both adjourn to the tea-room where Rikyū outlines the decline of tea's history. The final appearance of Rikyū the living legend occurs during Uraku's deathbed scene in Scene 119. Honkakubō notices the sudden appearance of Rikyū and the next shot is a flashback. Instead of the expected use of the Rikyū theme music, the heightened emotional tension is marked by the use of thunder. Rikyū is resplendent in white as he starts to commit *seppuku*.

The third structural element is Honkakubō's 'present', and this is the junction point for other levels of the film. Honkakubō has sole access to Rikyū the legendary dream and Rikyū the immortal legend, and Honkakubō is the custodian of the oral tradition of Rikyū parables. Honkakubō curates the collection and has absolute authority on questions of 'knowledge or belief concerning the nature of his [Rikyū's] practice, even though the substance of that practice is essentially unknowable'.[52]

The fourth structural element of the film is a series of flashbacks with multiple narrators, overseen by the account of Honkakubō. The film Honkakubō, like the Houses of Sen grand masters who cooperated with the film's production, appears to own the legacy of Rikyū.

These four structural elements construct multiple versions of time because there is a combination of non-linear, linear and cyclical elements. The sequences of flashbacks embedded in other flashbacks are obviously non-linear, and the repetition of the spectacle of Rikyū rejecting the attempts of his disciple to follow him at the beginning and near the end of the film suggests a circular arrangement. At the same time, the changing seasons mark the passage of time, and as Uraku incrementally learns more about Rikyū's final justification there is a sense of moving towards understanding the reasons for Rikyū's *seppuku*. This linear sense is reinforced by the aging of Honkakubō, from the earnest twenty-eight-year-old monk washing *daikon* radish in the crisp whiteness of the early spring morning. This implied closure is undercut as the film finishes with Honkakubō moving off to find his own way in the same fog that consumed Rikyū. This open-ended endorsement of the merits of what Paolo Freire calls 'discovering the

way by walking' can be read as an alternative to the current institutionalization of tea practice.[53]

*Qualifying the narrative*

In Kumai's film, it is Honkakubō, the disciple who continues to converse with the deceased Rikyū, whose narration frames other accounts of past events. Honkakubō's use of the past tense is a reminder of the slippery distances spanning event, second-hand experience and myth, as he glides between those conversations with his master and the obsessive questions of Uraku. He smoothly integrates accounts of tea gatherings at which he was present with events he can, at best, have only second-hand knowledge. Scene 29 is one example of Honkakubō reporting what he has heard. Kumai uses a long shot of Rikyū's expulsion from Kyōto and his one-way boat ride to establish the absence of Honkakubō from the incident that has immortalized the riverside presence of Hosokawa Sansai (1563–1646) and Furuta Oribe (1544–1615). Both of these men risked incurring the considerable wrath of Hideyoshi by standing on the banks of the Yodo River to say goodbye to Rikyū when he was exiled to Sakai on the thirteenth day of the second month 1591.

One effect of this foregrounding of the absence of Honkakubō is to demonstrate how the distinction between first-hand experience and hearsay is subsumed by the Honkakubō narrative. With Kumai's cinematography having made this collapse apparent, it is a justifiably critical reading which asserts that this collapsed distinction mirrors the ease with which sentimentalized accounts come to serve the vested interests of the custodians of tea's grand narrative. The hearsay of tea anecdotes is an integral part of tea pedagogy but the tellers of those tales, like Honkakubō, are sometimes absent from the site of the original action.

The opening black and white sequence of Honkakubō running after the spectral figure of the mist enshrouded Rikyū in an increasingly disjointed manner before finally tumbling is a powerfully poetic suggestion of the impossibility of attaining the ideal of Rikyū. However, the embedded flashback structure reinforces the status of Honkakubō as the omniscient narrator who is the authoritative chief repository of Rikyū folklore. This status is explicitly confirmed in

Scenes 78–80 when Rikyū's grandson, Sen Sōtan, visits Honkakubō to try to discover the reasons for Rikyū's punishment at the hands of Hideyoshi.

Kumai works with a structure of embedded flashbacks with multiple narrators to create a post-modern conception of 'the past as fiction of the present'.[54] In most *jidai geki*, death is usually assumed to provide a non-negotiable closure. The English title, *Death of a Tea Master*, tells us Rikyū will die, and the film shows us that he is alive despite being dead. Instead of a conventional set of unreflective flashbacks that move the viewer around idealized images of the past, the film is constructed of various levels that suggest Rikyū is alive as a *chajin*, as a legendary embodiment of values, and as a set of aesthetic preferences. Rikyū is immortalized because narrated anecdotes re-enact his life. In these nostalgic recollections his identity is attached to holy relics that he once owned or inscribed, and to a now institutionalized *wabi* aesthetic.

This combination of voice-over narration and flashbacks goes beyond his use of these devices in *Sandakan hachiban shōkan: Bōkyō*, 'Brothel 8'. In this 1975 production, Kumai used two interlocking narratives, each with their own flashbacks, to achieve two goals: first, to address the historical lacuna of Japanese women who went to countries such as Borneo to work as prostitutes before returning to their hometowns; and second, to show how the oral history projects of feminist scholars can supplement the official narrative. It is in this second objective of offering an alternative history that the film assumes a pedagogical function, and again the English rendering of the title fails to convey that significant element of the original. The Japanese title's last two characters, generally translated as nostalgia or homesickness, are the biggest on-screen and yet they are omitted from the English title. Their visual impact acknowledges that while the film documents aspects of working in Brothel Number 8, the film also reflects on that experience. This structure of interlocking narratives explores the sorts of ethical responsibilities and emotional issues involved in the production of this historical knowledge. While these two films share problems with their English titles, it is their common use of multiple narrators linking flashbacks that is most important for establishing how Kumai appropriates the *jidai geki* genre. Narrated flashbacks are one device that carries the film's meta-historical functions.

In *Sen no Rikyū: Honkakubō Ibun* the attention is on anecdotes as discourse, and the oral tradition as a constructor of history: the dead Rikyū is constantly evoked as a spoken fiction of the present. It is in the positioning of anecdotes not as mere structural devices but as discourse that the film encompasses the 1981 distinction of Raymond Williams between culture as it is lived, culture as it is represented, and culture as a process of selection that offers role models to members of that culture: '*lived culture*, of a specific time and place and accessible only to those living in that time and place; *recorded culture*, … culture of a particular period; and *culture of the selective tradition*, connecting the lived and recorded culture'.[55] Kumai uses the structure of his film to chart the distance between experience, verbal transcriptions of events, and myth to emphasize the central role anecdotes have played in the construction of the Rikyū myth and the corresponding depoliticization of Japanese culture. The structural focus on anecdotes is an additional meta-historical element of the film.

The film presents us with a visual representation of the lived experience of those residing in and around Kyōto who embrace the legacy of Rikyū. This representation of lived culture is mediated by narrated flashbacks. These anecdotes elevate specific incidents, and celebrate them as ideal examples of a *wabi* tea culture. Anecdotes link lived culture and recorded culture because they exemplify and celebrate particular ways of experiencing and acting. Tea anecdotes are one element constructing the notion of authentic tea values and codes of behaviour. It is on the basis of their pedagogic utility that they are admitted into tea's tradition, and the film's structural use of anecdotes records how they come to support the culture of the selective tradition.

As tenets of this oral tradition in the grand master system, the historical Rikyū is deified in anecdotes which present tea as an apolitical activity. Rikyū is presented as an aesthetic genius. The glaring omission in this extremely selective canon is Rikyū's embrace of the tea politics of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi as a means to advance his officially designated status as the pre-eminent tea practitioner under Hideyoshi. This contemporary manoeuvre of using tea anecdotes as pedagogy to downplay the political role of sixteenth-century tea is a necessary precursor to presenting the aesthetic sphere as a depoliticized space since the Meiji period; the nation was created in this denial of the political

role of cultural practices at the very time that aesthetic symbols were being used as the seductive grammar that helped make the nation comprehensible to its citizens. The pedagogical use of anecdotes naturalizes the codification and commodification of institutionalized tea pedagogy by the Houses of Sen and other custodians. The film's positioning of anecdotes as discourse identifies this selective tradition of tea culture.

### *Protect me from what I want*

As a reading of the film transcript will suggest, the final thirty scenes of the film unite Uraku and Rikyū in death. Uraku has been seeking an authentic death and aligning himself with Rikyū has been his consistent strategy throughout the film. *Sakura* unite the Uraku desire to be orthodox and Rikyū in their dying moments.

On his deathbed in Scene 112, when Uraku hears from Honkakubō that Rikyū believed the coldly dead path was for Rikyū only, Uraku appears relieved: 'Now I have nothing to regret.' Uraku may have nothing to regret, but he is still overwhelmed by the stature of Rikyū as a real man of tea. Honkakubō has told Uraku of the final meeting between Hideyoshi and Rikyū. Rikyū not only refuses to accept the pardon of Hideyoshi by not serving him another bowl of tea, Rikyū warns Hideyoshi to be careful: a powerful audience is gathering to witness the final tea of Rikyū, many of them generals who died fighting against Hideyoshi. Led by Tokugawa Ieyasu, they file into the tearoom.

The film cuts between the Uraku deathbed and the crowded tearoom. In Scene 117 Uraku drinks from the black raku bowl offered to the generals. Uraku assumes the role of first guest and representative of the gathered generals, priests and merchant tea masters. Honkakubō watches as Uraku mimes drinking the final tea prepared by Rikyū. Uraku collapses and hail rains down on the roof tiles.

As Rikyū prepares to commit *seppuku*, so does Uraku. In front of the deathbed audience of Honkakubō, the court physician, and the page, Uraku opens his kimono. Rikyū prepares his short sword, and thunder is heard as Uraku mimes cutting his stomach. As Uraku mimes cutting his own neck, the flash of blue light and the sound of thunder in the film brings to mind the historical crowd who mobbed the Rikyū statue

at Modoribashi. As they saw the head of Rikyū displayed at the feet of that effigy, they too were assailed by a violent storm.[56]

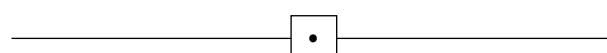
In this moment of the death of Rikyū and Uraku, we see the aesthetics of sacrifice violence. We do not see Rikyū taking his own life. Instead, there is the spectacle of masses of *sakura* flowers, powerless before the fury of a kamikaze gale. This is no abstract calculation of the costs of wartime citizenship in the community of unnatural death. The screen becomes a chaotic *moiré* of elemental forces, all irresistible as mortality, as individual petals are pelted to their destiny.

## *Conclusion*

This reading of Kumai's film marks the costs of identifying with the imaginary community of the nation. The desire to be validated by a particular power/knowledge configuration can be a lethal proposition. While the life of the tea mind is a rich experience of social and natural transience, the possibility of resisting the seduction of institutionally transmitted definitions of what constitutes 'authenticity' is another form of pleasure. The final chapter comments about the place of desire in the formation of one's tea self against a background of discourses of the nation.

CHAPTER 10

# NATIONAL IDENTITY AND TEA SUBJECTIVITIES



> Could it be that a post-modern subject for nation may be emerging for whom nation as independent nation-state matters somewhat less than nation as culture?[1]

*Desire: shopping for authenticity*

In a country where there are less people than the number of mobile phones in use, conventional images of Japanese technology are glossy close-ups of feature-rich and compact high-tech gadgets. However, the technology explored in our mapping of the ideologies of subjectivity, transience and national identity is notably more elemental: light modified by paper screens, bamboo tea scoops, and the surprisingly percussive sound of water being boiled by charcoal. Nonetheless, with a quick swipe of the credit card, these timeless aspects of the tea moment are all available for rent at high-rise hotels throughout Japan.

Japanese identity is a commodity. In the marketplace of identity, the experience of tea culture can be purchased on an hourly basis. The subjectivity of an individual can be experienced as a fluid process, located at the intersection of cultural production and its retail consumption. For holders of accredited plastic cards, the idea of being defined by a single and stable identity has almost passed its use-by date. Instead of an essential core of values, there is an imperative to embrace plurality: our multiple selves defined in relation to multiple others. The sacramental purity of Japanese ethnicity, language and cul-

ture has been replaced by a more global awareness that has been created by social forces including foreign language education, interest in overseas media and international marriage.

One problem with approaching Japanese identity as a commodity is a historical one. As the outline of a politicized version of nature suggests, the appropriation of culture has a legacy of certain lethal possibilities. The arguments of Okakura Tenshin for the aesthetic unity of Asia were co-opted to serve the imperial drive to colonize neighbouring countries. The generations of Korean and Chinese citizens who were given Japanese language instruction by 'settlers' may be inclined to misread any reference to culture as a diversion, a synonym for power and military invasion. Back inside Japan, the tension between popular debates about Japanese war responsibility and the official reluctance to resolve problematic issues including the annual Yasukuni Shrine visits by conservative politicians seems unlikely to be resolved in a manner that appeases the resident Chinese and Korean communities. The decision of Prime Minister Fukuda not to visit Yasukuni Shrine was appreciated by Asian neighbours.

Disputes about the parameters of Japanese identity are a continuing feature of Japanese public life, and international concerns tend to focus on issues ranging from broad questions of historical interpretation and responsibility down to the details of the content of Japanese high school textbooks.[2] Histories of the aesthetic sphere deserve closer attention because of the ideological foundation supplied by cultural texts. The early modern nation was invented and sustained by idealized role models in classical literature that were then appropriated to serve the state interests of formal education. Notions such as the four seasons of Japan and the transience of human life continue to be important elements that aestheticize modern Japanese identity for domestic and international consumption.

This critique of national culture sifts out the power investments of traditional custodians of cultural practices in their self-presentations of tea as not political or economic. The pleasures of the life of the tea mind include showing how tea operates as the constructor of mythic selves, both national identity and individual subjectivities. Critical attention to desire and pleasure could be part of more dispersed debates about the relationship between individuals and the state.

As we are increasingly governed by an internalized panopticon, even

while imbibing the class specific pleasures of tea leisure, more critical attention should be given to how we police ourselves. As these scrutinies of the self, including the self-assessment of our orthodox performance of set tea forms, are mediated by commodity discourses, identity itself is destabilized. New forms of identity are configured in commodified bodies, often along the lines of fluid relationships between gender, generation and class. Tea identity becomes a performance that can be mastered by diligent bodies around the world.

The technology of tea instruction is very effective in ensuring that individual tea practitioners internalize a particular aesthetic system of codification. Having embodied that aspect of their tradition, they are spoken into existence as legitimate members of their tea community. These practices, organized around aesthetic evaluation, constitute and maintain practitioner identities while sustaining and transmitting the brand name of that tradition.

Tradition inscribes itself on the bodies of true believers. This desire to be authentic is an important mechanism that inspires bearers of Japanese traditions to identify with their own particular brand of cultural practices:

> It seems that the 'corporal memories' Kawada discusses are essential in the pedagogy of the tea ceremony as well as of other Japanese traditional cultural activities. According to Ikuta, the pedagogy of *waza* (crafts) of traditional Japanese arts, including dancing, martial arts and the tea ceremony, are characterized by imitation and repetition (Ikuta 1987: 18) and 'understanding by one's whole body' (Ikuta 1987: 131). A statement by the heir of a school of the tea ceremony may support this argument. When I asked how he knew the 'correct' answers to pupils' questions on minute movement[s] or posture in *temae*, such as the position of a finger against a ladle, he said 'I do the movement or posture myself, and answer. When it's written somewhere, I (also) say "As is written". In any case, the basis is my own sense of body (*shintai kankaku*).' Such body-centrism in the pedagogy of the tea ceremony (and the Japanese cultural activities or discipline in general) has been pointed out by overseas researchers such as Kondo (1990: 106) or Cross (2003: 162).[3]

Rather than offering an account of the experience of how imitation and repetition are accepted by tea practitioners as the steps of progress towards becoming the embodiment of the tea tradition, my interest is more in the body as constructed by the practitioner's desire to be

authenticated as a competent representative of that particular grand master tradition.

*Tea worlds*

Reading the ideology of 'Japan the beautiful' against its aesthetic grain shows the play of power in the rhetorical celebration of Japan's four seasons. Sensitivity to the nuances of nature and tea culture mark Japanese identity but historically these practices were imported from the continent several centuries before the invention of the *iemoto* system. Individual subjectivities organized around tea sites are implicated in the formation of national identities. The politicization of nature supported top-down imperatives for Pacific War sacrifices in the name of the national body, and today transnational corporations continue to demand similar levels of commitment to the mission of global competitiveness.

In early modern Japan there was no easy decision to oppose or simply not participate in objectionable practices imposed upon the citizenry. Even today, consciously recognizing what is distasteful in the ideological subconscious of our various leisure activities is rarely a real time option. Ideology justifies and preserves power inequalities. What are the discursive positions that would allow one to resist the logic of scattered cherry blossoms?

The intersection of politics and commerce in sixteenth-century tea practices meant this field of cultural production was a male domain. Against the background of a gendered national narrative, the masculine rigour of pre-modern warrior tea practices continues to be valorized as one embodiment of the otherworldliness of Japanese identities. Tea vocabulary includes natural symbols that were part of a semiotic artillery which demanded a generation of young Japanese males sacrifice themselves for the sake of the national polity. During the economic reconstruction and prosperity of post-war Japan, discourses of leisure were increasingly feminized as the company became the institution demanding the ultimate sacrifice from male breadwinners. Nationally distinctive cultural practices, including tea, continued to be administered by male grand masters, while numerically, female practitioners dominated the ranks. As tea came to be regarded as a field for women, tea embraced the post-war self-presentation of Japan as the democratic land of peaceful harmony and Urasenke tea custodians

implemented a global 'Peacefulness through a bowl of tea' campaign. Tea is therefore implicated in gendered discourses of othering the national body, in both its warring and pacifist manifestations.

Recognizing ourselves as foreign others is part of the experience of shopping around for a distinctive personal identity. Although tea has been celebrated as a comprehensive synthesis of certain forms of Japanese material culture, its representative status depends more on its domestic presence in Japan as an internal and foreign other. Against the post-war background of national identities being increasingly cut from the same bland international style, tea is a symbolic marker of the otherworldliness of Japanese culture to many urban Japanese citizens.

The salaried life in the bigger Japanese cities, with its long hours of commuting, leaves little energy and time to appreciate the seasonal nuances of a cultured life. Tea has an important iconic value for the general population because it is part of a national mythology that provides a psychological anchor for individuals battered by the demands of urban subsistence. In this sense, tea has a similar role to another post-war identifier of upper-class behaviour, golf.

Both tea and golf are mass-culture practices that are marketed as something more exclusive. Both practices can be experienced as a vital tradition, especially when passionately embraced by a small section of the population. The knowledge that such professionalized activities have managed to survive may provide some consolation to those subject to economic uncertainty.

In the case of tea, this extremely mannered way of handling utensils and marking changes of the natural calendar remains incomprehensible to many Japanese who are struggling to survive in the economic downturn that has persisted past the nineties. However, as traditions such as tea and noh are acknowledged by the outside world as being part of the heritage of humanity, their persistence suggests that there is something more to life than living hand to mouth.

Tea works as an international icon because of its otherworldliness. The distance between daily Japanese interactions and what happens in tea classrooms is the measure of a Japanese desire for a distinctive social identity. Tradition is one category that preserves certain modes of behaviour and social relationships of embodied authority.

Submitting to the legitimacy of these forms of authority can be one of the pleasures of learning these cultural forms in a grand master

system. My experience of pedagogy in two schools of tea instruction confirms that the tea moments of regular weekly practice are intensely social in a rather private way. When learning tea, we are watched intently, scrutinized, encouraged and instructed so that we can embody the tradition. Speaking as a tea insider, it is this embodied mimicry of our teachers that constitutes our preparation for possibly passing tea conduct and values on to the next generation.

I have been blessed to have had three tea teachers who made considerable investments in my ability to master the basic elements of tea-serving procedures and philosophy. The creation of the cultural capital of a competent performance of a low intermediate tea student is testimony to the sustained focus of one's teachers and encouraging peers. I recognize that the progress of students through the licensing system is a report card for tea teachers that also generates an income stream. As a defining element of the tea world, the system benefits teachers and students. However, what often appears to be a desire to be accredited may in fact be my rather feeble attempt to acknowledge the gift of personal attention and time generously bestowed on me by my teachers and other tea seniors.

The depth of this sense of gratitude and loyalty to one's teacher and school affiliation is common enough among long-term tea students. While moving in and around tea-rooms, I have occasionally seen unnecessarily harsh criticism of moments of less than orthodox tea service. In some cases these instances of unbecoming conduct can be explained by the strength of feelings for one's institutional affiliation. In this identification with one's teacher and school a broader perspective is lost, and this lapse is not unlike the slip from loving your country to hating the country of others. Regardless of whether these sorts of behaviours are the result of individual shortcomings or exacerbated by the use of competition as a management technique, this intensity of identification seems a long way from the ideals proposed by the 1872 petition of Gengensai.

### *Post-war tea as* anime*: 'One bowl, one final bow'*

An extreme close-up of the *tatami* floor of a tea-room. A black Raku tea bowl is slowly placed on the *tatami* by an ancient but steady right hand. The head of Sen no Rikyū gradually enters the frame as he bows deeply towards his guest. Tōjō Hideki slides deftly on his knees

towards the bowl. In the prisoner uniform reserved for war-time prime ministers at Sugamo Prison, Tōjō moves with a precise economy. The War Crimes Court has said he will hang tomorrow, but that room shines with great contentment as Tōjō drinks the tea with dignity, beauty and poise.

The golden glow of the textured tea-room wall becomes the radiant lustre of a hand-woven kimono. The earnest impulse to press forwards becomes impatient movement. The camera pulls back and we see a huge torrent of tea people, all moving in a single flow. Elementary school children drop their card collections as they run to join the stream of people. Piles of Yugi-oh and Pokemon are discarded as we zoom into the reflection of the big eyes of one happy child: kids scramble to pick up bamboo tea scoops. Junior high school students in their black uniforms struggle to keep their colourful mobile phones in one hand as they grapple with each other, trying to snatch tea whisks from their friends. Huge faces ripple with festive laughter as tipsy university students stumble out of karaoke boxes to join the procession. Chain-smoking salary men briefly look up from pachinko slot machines at the passing parade of colour and vitality. As one man steps out of the tobacco haze, his Futata poly-blend suit changes into a subdued kimono bound by the distinctive weave of a Hakata *ori* belt.

Google Earth pans across Europe and North America as the spectacle of the kimono torrent continues. In each location there appear to be a couple of non-Japanese moving smoothly within the group of tea people. Tea scoops and whisks are waved with great joy as the festival of tea culture continues to spread across the globe.

The camera pulls back from this news footage. We see a television. Time for an advertisement, a message from our sponsors.

In slow motion a tea whisk, its tines thick with leftover tea, enters the frame from the left. The whisk splatters into a plasma TV screen. The made-in-China screen is smashed. The TV screen becomes a square black hole. What was the TV is now a huge hearth in a gigantic tea-room. From the horizon of the other side a small white figure becomes visible. The hearth is framed by four trunks of huge cherry trees, all heavily weathered. The roar of the tea kettle is more terrifying than the groan of an earthquake. A blind man uses his white cane to steadily approach the hearth. Moving somewhere in the distance behind him is an elderly group of Liberal Democratic Party members.

These former Prime Ministers of Japan are being herded by a gang of Young Republicans who are drunk and naked. An avalanche of American flags frames their stampede out of Yasukuni Shrine. 'Four more years!' is the brayed mantra.

The tea kettle has become a volcano. Rikyū is steadfast in a white kimono sitting at the peak of Mount Fuji, amidst the sulphur fumes and occasional earth tremor. Rikyū plays the melody 'Sakura, sakura' on a xylophone made of the skulls of later grand masters. He taps these skulls using the bamboo case holding the tea scoop called 'Tears'. The plaintive melody starts to sound more like ragtime as Rikyū continues to play. Just as 'Sakura, sakura' starts to sound jazzy, the bamboo case splinters on the skull of Gengensai. A bored Rikyū opens his kimono and delivers the following poem as if it were a shopping list:

> Seventy years of life – Ha-ha!
> Power embraces ambition?
> With my sacred sword
> I dispense with all buddhas and patriarchs!

When the blind man hears Rikyū's death poem he shuffles to the edge of the hearth. He bows his head and stares, unseeingly, into the deep gloom. Rikyū continues:

> I raise the sword, this sword of mine,
> Long in my possession – The time has come at last – Up it goes!

Rikyū jumps. His feet hit the down-turned head of his blind white follower and they both silently plummet into the abyss. In the darkness a peal of thunder precedes a blinding flash of lightning. Out of a glare more painful than the explosion of Little Boy and Fat Man over Hiroshima and Nagasaki, cherry blossoms fall. The Young Republicans stampede towards the precipice. Corpulent with anxiety, the true believers among them stare down their self-doubts as they leap out, crashing onto the craggy face of the mountain. The camera does a massive pull back. The sobering slope of the bluff then dissolves into another extreme close-up: we are inspecting a speck of iron in a rock. After a very slow zoom out, we see the *sekimori ishi* marking the right path in Tokushige Sensei's garden. The stepping stone glistens in the greenery.[4]

# ENDNOTES



*Chapter 1*

[1] 'The Pleasures of Hakata Tea' section is a revision of my 'Why Tea?', *Index Magazine*, September/October 2001, pp. 96–103. The following three sources were combined with Hakata fieldwork to provide a simplified account of the Nambō Ryū thick tea procedure. Jennifer L. Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991). Chanoyu Quarterly, 'Photo essay: Tōkyō Shinchakai tea gathering', in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 74 (1993), pp. 28–37. Sen Sōshitsu, (M. Yamaguchi, J. T. Conte, N. Yamada, T. Yamasaki, C. C. Santon and A. Mori trans.), *Chado*: *The Japanese Way of Tea* (New York, Tōkyō, Kyōto: Weatherhill and Tankosha, 1979).
[2] Herbert Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2003), p. 34.
[3] Ibid., pp. 165–83, 191–4.
[4] Mitchell Dean, *Critical and Effective Histories: Foucault's Methods and Historical Sociology* (London: Routledge, 1994). Gavin Kendall and Gary Wickham, *Using Foucault's Methods* (London: Sage, 1999). John Neubauer (ed.), *Cultural History After Foucault* (NewYork: Aldine de Gruyter, 1999).
[5] Dean, *Critical and Effective Histories: Foucault's Methods and Historical Sociology*, p. 52.
[6] Stephen Muecke, 'Experimental history? The 'space' of History in recent histories of Kimberley colonialism', *UTS Review*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1996), p. 3.
[7] Tara Forrest, *The Politics of Imagination: Benjamin, Kracauer, Kluge* (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2007).

## Chapter 2

[1] Philip Schlesinger, 'On national identity: some conceptions and misconceptions criticized', in *Social Science Information*, vol. 26, no. 2, (1987), p. 234.
[2] John Storey, *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture: Theories and Methods* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. 3.
[3] Paul Magee, 'The labyrinth of solipsism', in *UTS Review*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1996), p. 135.
[4] Dennis Hirota, 'Memoranda of the Words of Rikyū: *Nampōroku* Book I', in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 25 (1980), p. 42.
[5] Herbert Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2003), p. 183.
[6] Hirota, 'Memoranda of the Words of Rikyū: *Nampōroku* Book I', p. 45.
[7] Ross Mouer and Yoshio Sugimoto, 'Nihonjinron at the end of the twentieth century: a multicultural perspective', in Johann P. Arnason and Yoshio Sugimoto (eds), *Japanese Encounters with Postmodernity* (London and New York: Kegan Paul, 1995), pp. 237–69.
[8] Jay Rubin, *Injurious to Public Morals: Writers and the Meiji State* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984), p. viii.
[9] Haruo Shirane, 'Constructing "Japanese Literature": global and ethnic nationalism', in Michael F. Marra (ed.) *Japanese Hermeneutics: Current Debates on Aesthetics and Interpretation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), p. 170.
[10] Ibid., p. 6.
[11] Akanuma Taka, 'Sen Rikyū's tea utensils: the questions of imitations', in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 62 (1990), p. 13.
[12] Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony*, p. 183.
[13] Ienaga Saburō, *The Pacific War, 1931–1945: A Critical Perspective on Japan's Role in World War II*, trans. Frank Baldwin (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978 [1968]), pp. 13–14.
[14] Katherine Verdery, 'Whither "nation" and "nationalism"?', in *Daedalus*, vol. 22, no. 3 (1993), pp. 37–46.
[15] Rubin, *Injurious to Public Morals*, p. 6.
[16] Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986).
[17] Shirane, 'Constructing "Japanese Literature": global and ethnic nationalism', pp. 170–1.
[18] Writers including Fichte, Herder, Schlegel, and Schleiermacher influenced Japanese beliefs about the link between language and the nation. Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World*, p. 9.
[19] Rubin, *Injurious to Public Morals*, p. 231.

[20] Ibid., p. 261.
[21] Peter N. Dale, *The Myth of Japanese Uniqueness* (New York: St Martin, 1991).
[22] James A. Fujii, *Complicit Fictions: The Subject in Modern Japanese Prose Narrative* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 42.
[23] G. G. Rowley, 'Literary canon and national identity: *The Tale of Genji* in Meiji Japan', in *Japan Forum*, vol. 9, no. 1 (1997), pp. 1–15. Bert Winther-Tamaki, 'Embodiment/disembodiment: Japanese painting during the Fifteen Year War', in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 52, no. 2 (1997), pp. 145–80.
[24] 'The Freedom and People's Rights movement began in 1874 when Itagaki Taisuke, who had resigned from the government the previous year, presented the government his famous "Petition for the Establishment of a Representative Parliament." … Despite the increasing intervention of the government, the movement spread rapidly, encompassing various classes and reaching a peak in 1880, when over 240,000 people signed a petition calling for the establishment of a parliament.' Tomi Suzuki, *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), pp. 26–7.
[25] Rowley, 'Literary canon and national identity: *The Tale of Genji* in Meiji Japan', p. 2.
[26] Suzuki, *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity*, p. 44. The following discussion of *genbun-ichi* draws primarily on Suzuki's second chapter, 'Self, Christianity, and language: *genbun-ichi* and concern for the Self'.
[27] Ibid., pp. 202–203.
[28] Ibid., p. 33. 'As the Freedom and People's Rights movement spread, however, the government altered its progressive, egalitarian educational policy of the 1870s to one that emphasized loyalty to the emperor and traditional ethics that excluded liberal political ideals. In 1880, textbooks "interfering with national peace" (*kokuan o bōgaisu*) were prohibited, and in 1880–81 Fukuzawa's *Gakumon no susume* and Nakamura's *Saigoku risshi-hen*, both of which advocated the independence of the enterprising individual, were excluded from the government list of school textbooks. While stiffening its controls on the populist People's Rights movement, the government incorporated and absorbed that movement into what Benedict Arnold calls "official nationalism", particularly by following the model of Hohenzollern Prussia-Germany, in which Bismarck established a modern dynastic nation-state after and in reaction to the popular national movements that proliferated in Europe in the 1820s. By the late 1880s the Meiji government has effectively suppressed these political activities.' Ibid., p. 28.
[29] 'The term *shōsetsu* is closer in meaning to the English "prose narrative", or even "prose" (without the requirement for telos denoted by the word "narrative"), than it is to the commonly used equivalent, the novel.' Fujii, *Complicit Fictions: The Subject in Modern Japanese Prose Narrative*, p. 14.

[30] Suzuki, *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity*, p. 44.
[31] 'European Naturalism arose largely as a reaction to the excessive emphasis on the individual in Romantic literature, but in Japan the most salient feature of Naturalist writing was the search for the individual.' Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature in the Modern Era* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1984), p. 221.
[32] Suzuki, *Narrating the Self: Fictions of Japanese Modernity*, p. 46.
[33] Ibid., p. 47.
[34] In his 1978 'Shi-shōsetsu no keifugaku', the critic 'Karatani Kōjin argues that Christianity spread rapidly among the sons of supporters of the former Tokugawa shogunate precisely because Christianity – a monotheism that derived from the West but that transcended the individual nations of the West–allowed these young Meiji intellectuals to relativize and disregard the recently constructed monarchic authority of the Meiji government (led by former lower-ranking samurai from the Western provinces of Chōshū and Satsuma). It also enabled them to "transcend" conceptually the difficulties imposed on Japan by Western nations. Christianity satisfied, in an ironically inverted form, the "will to power" of those young people who felt both powerless and resentful … Although the growth of Christianity slowed after the early 1890s due to the growth of state control and nationalism, there was a resurgence of Christianity from 1901, primarily among urban, middle-class intellectuals and students whose numbers increased with the spread of industrialization, particularly after the Sino-Japanese War.' Ibid., pp. 34–5, 201.
[35] Fujii, *Complicit Fictions: The Subject in Modern Japanese Prose Narrative*, p. 14.
[36] Michael C. Brownstein, 'From Kokugaku to Kokubungaku: canon formation in the Meiji Period', in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 47, no. 2 (1987), p. 438.
[37] 'Japanese has a huge number of loan words (in Japanese, *gairaigo*) from Chinese, and many pseudo-Chinese words invented in Japan using Chinese elements. *Yamato kotoba* means Japanese words which are not Chinese, pseudo-Chinese, or other loan words. Yamato is an ancient name for Japan and *yamato kotoba* implies the ancient Japanese language without any loan words.' http://www.csse.monash.edu.au/~jwb/afaq/yamato-kotoba.html
[38] Rowley, 'Literary canon and national identity: *The Tale of Genji* in Meiji Japan', p. 9.
[39] Edward Reischauer, 'Japanese religion in the Meiji Era' [review article], in *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 20 (1957), p. 361.
[40] Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, pp. 47–8.
[41] Robert B. Valliant, 'The selling of Japan: Japanese manipulation of Western opinion, 1900–1905', in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 29, no. 4 (1974), pp. 415–38.

[42] Rowley, 'Literary canon and national identity: *The Tale of Genji* in Meiji Japan', p. 9.
[43] Akira Iriye, *Cultural Internationalism and World Order* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1997).
[44] John R. Wallace, 'Tarrying with the negative: aesthetic vision in Murasaki and Mishima', in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 52, no. 2 (1997), p. 185.
[45] Honda Giken, 'The colours bloom and yet … reflections on the Japanese appreciation of the transience of life', in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 58 (1989), p. 28.
[46] Suzuki Daisetzu, *Zen and Japanese Culture* (Rutland and Tōkyō: Tuttle, 1997 [1959]), p. 390.
[47] Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, 'Cherry blossoms as symbols of peace and war', 21 September 1995, Center for Japanese Studies Noon Lecture Series, University of Michigan.
[48] Donald Keene, 'The barren years: Japanese war literature', in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 33, no. 1 (1978), p. 93. *Mujō to iu Koto*, 'Transience' was written during the war and published in a collection of essays in 1946.
[49] Satō Tadao, *Currents in Japanese Cinema*, trans. Gregory Barrett (Tōkyō and London: Kodansha, 1982), p. 224.
[50] Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, p. 49.
[51] Rubin, *Injurious to Public Morals*, p. xiii.
[52] Ibid., p. 277. The quotation continues: 'It was precisely this familiarity that was lacking in the wartime product said Masamune Hakuchō; the ponderous poems in praise of god-emperors were simply unsuited to the lighthearted New Year's card game.' *Tanka* are short poems.
[53] Keene, 'The barren years: Japanese war literature', p. 92. In contrast to the Kishida position that wanted to protect the purity of Japaneseness, the Chapter Five survey of wartime tea publications notes that some tea researchers and Zen scholars were fond of using words imported from the enemy.
[54] 'In addition to the Press and Publication Laws and the Peace Preservation Law, publishers had to worry about the Control of Subversive Documents Law (Fuon bunsho torishimari hō, 1936); the Military Secrets Law (Gunki hogo hō, 1899, broadened and strengthened in 1937); the War Materials Secrets Law (Gun'yō shigen himitsu hō, 1939); the National General Mobilization Law (Kokka sōdōin hō, 1938); the National Peace and Defence Law (Kokubō hoan hō, 1941); the Emergency Law (and Enforcement Regulations) Controlling Speech, Publication, Assembly, Association, Etc. (Genron shuppan shūkai kessha tō rinji torishimari hō plus its shikō kisoku, 1941); the Press Industry Ordinance (Shinbun jigyō rei, 1943); the Publication Industry Ordinance (Shuppan jigyō rei, 1943); and others.' Rubin, *Injurious to*

*Public Morals*, p. 233. For restrictions on wartime reporting and the dissemination of positive information see Ben-Ami Shillony, *Politics and Culture in Wartime Japan* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 93.

[55] The first *Genji* translation by Tanizaki revised by Yamada Yoshio was published between January 1939 and July 1941, and the second one was published between May 1951 and October 1951. Rubin, *Injurious to Public Morals*, p. 259.

[56] Ibid., p. 260.

[57] Ibid., p. 259.

[58] Ibid., p. 260.

[59] Mark Elwood Lincicome, 'Nationalism, imperialism, and the International Education Movement in early twentieth-century Japan', in *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 58, no. 2, (1999) pp. 339, 350.

[60] Rubin, *Injurious to Public Morals*, p. 230.

[61] Ibid., p. 249. The prospects for a less nationalized education in Japan during the Heisei era (1989–) are discussed by Lynne Parmenter, 'Beyond the nation? Potential for intercultural citizenship education in Japan', in Geof Alred, Michael Byram and Michael Fleming (eds), *Education for Intercultural Citizenship: Concepts and Comparisons* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2006), pp. 144–63.

[62] Harold J. Wray, 'A study in contrasts: Japanese school textbooks of 1903 and 1941–5', in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 28, no. 1 (1973), pp. 69–86.

[63] Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, p. 49.

[64] Donald Keene, *On Familiar Terms: To Japan and Back, A Lifetime Across Cultures* (New York, Tōkyō and London: Kodansha, 1994), p. 38.

[65] Etsuko Katō, *Tea Ceremony and Women's Empowerment in Modern Japan: Bodies Re-Presenting the Past* (London: Routledge-Curzon, 2004), pp. 64, 66.

[66] Winther-Tamaki, 'Embodiment/disembodiment', p. 146.

[67] Ibid., p. 176.

[68] Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, p. 123.

[69] Takezaki Suenaga (1246-??) was a low ranking thirteenth century vassal who immortalized himself by commissioning a set of scrolls, *Moko shurai ekotoba*, commemorating his military actions around Hakata Bay against Mongol invaders.

[70] Winther-Tamaki, 'Embodiment/disembodiment', p. 176.

[71] Novelist Murakami Haruki addresses the meaning of the Japanese military experience in Mongolia in his 1997 *The Wind-up Bird Chronicle*. According to the 11 October 2003 H-Japan post of Dick Stegewerns, Yamamoto Satsuo directed the feature film '*Sensō to ningen*' (Nikkatsu, 1970–73). The film consists of three parts and is more than nine hours long. Based on a Gomikawa Junpei novel, the film is set in 1920s-1930s Manchuria and centres on the fictional zaibatsu family Godai. It also pays attention to the Chinese anti-Japanese

resistance. In the final episode a Japanese soldier even joins the Chinese resistance. The film is packed with personal drama and mass scenes, including a re-enactment of the Nomonhan Incident made with the co-operation of the Soviet Army.

[72] For a powerful critique of the kamikaze mythology, see Thomas Conlan, *In Little Need of Divine Intervention: Scrolls of the Mongol Invasions of Japan* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

[73] Winther-Tamaki, 'Embodiment/disembodiment', p. 154

[74] Seiji M. Lippit, 'The disintegrating machinery of the modern: Akutagawa Ryunosuke's late writings', in *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 58, no. 1 (1999), p. 42.

[75] Okakura Tenshin, *The Ideals of the East: With Special Reference to the Arts of Japan* (Forgotten Books, 2007 [1903]), p. 8.
http://www.forgottenbooks.org/info/The_Ideals_of_the_East. See also Brij Tankha (ed.) *Okakura Tenshin and Pan-Asianism: Shadows of the Past* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2009).

[76] This paragraph draws heavily on Shinko Kagaya, '*No* performances in *gaichi*', *Asian Theatre Journal*, vol. 18, no. 2 (2001), pp. 257–69. Although not immediately relevant to the current discussion, it is worth noting that noh performances for the souls of dead soldiers bring noh into alignment with the Yasukuni Shrine practices of commemorating war dead. This issue is addressed in Chapters 3 and 4.

[77] Jean-Jacques Tschudin, 'Danjurō's *katsureki-geki* realistic theatre, and the Meiji "Theatre Reform" Movement', in *Japan Forum*, vol. 11, no. 1 (1999), p. 83.

[78] Cabot Coville, 'Shinto, engine of government', in *Transactions Asiatic Society of Japan*, series 3, vol. 1 (1948), p. 5.

[79] Sharon H. Nolte, 'National morality and universal ethics: Onishi Hajime and the Imperial Rescription on Education', in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 38, no. 3 (1983), p. 283.

[80] Robert Kramer, 1985, 'The Cult of Tea', Ph.D. thesis, Department of Far Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago, p. 183.

[81] Adam Jamrozik, Cathy Boland and Robert Urquhart, *Social Change and Cultural Transformation in Australia*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 27 [emphasis in original].

[82] Barbara Lynne Rowland Mori, *Americans Studying the Traditional Japanese Art of the Tea Ceremony: The Internationalizing of a Traditional Art* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1992), p. 13.

[83] Etsuko Katō, '"Art" for men, "manners" for women: how women transformed the tea ceremony in modern Japan', in Susan Shifrin (ed.), *Women as Sites of Culture: Women's Roles in Cultural Formation from the Renaissance to the Twentieth Century*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 139–49.

[84] Sen Sōshitsu, *Urasenke hajimete no chakai, kyaku no kokoro e* [Your First

Urasenke Chakai: The Guest's Heart Preparation], (Tōkyō: Nippon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai: 1998), p. 4.

[85] Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony*, p. 192.

[86] Ibid., p. 180. For a definitive outline of how noh worked to legitimate Tokugawa political authority see Tom Looser, 'Locating Tokugawa Power; The Place of the Nō in Early Modern Japan', in Najita Tetsuo (ed.), *Productions of Culture in Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago East Asian Occasional Papers, No. 10, 1995), pp. 145–95. Tom Looser, *Visioning Eternity: Aesthetics, Politics, and History in the Early Modern Noh Theater* (Ithaca: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2008).

## *Chapter 3*

[1] Michael F. Marra, '*Coincidentia Oppositorum*: Ōnishi Yoshinori's Greek genealogies of Japan', in Michael F. Marra (ed.), *Japanese Hermeneutics: Debates on Aesthetics and Interpretation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press), p. 151.

[2] Stefan Tanaka, 'Nature – the naturalization of experience as national', in Michael F. Marra (ed.), *Japanese Hermeneutics: Debates on Aesthetics and Interpretation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), pp. 140–1.

[3] Ōhashi Ryōsuke, 'The hermeneutic approach to Japanese modernity: "art-way," "*iki*," and "cut-continuance" ', in Michael F. Marra (ed.), *Japanese Hermeneutics: Debates on Aesthetics and Interpretation* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2002), p. 35.

[4] Ibid., p. 34. The unity of life-death and its status as a Zen doctrine are examined in Chapter 5.

[5] Jay Rubin, *Injurious to Public Morals: Writers and the Meiji State* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984).

[6] Naoki Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On 'Japan' and Cultural Nationalism* (Minneapolis and London, University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

[7] Herbert Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2003), pp. 192–3.

[8] Nishiyama Matsunosuke, *Nishiyama Matsunosuke Chosakushū* [Nishiyama Matsunosuke Collected Works], 8 vols, *Hana to Nihon Bunka* [Flowers and Japanese Culture], vol. 8 (Tōkyō: Furukawa Hirofumi Kan, 1985), pp. 148–50.

[9] A. L. Sadler, *Cha-no-yu: The Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Rutland and Tōkyō: Charles Tuttle, 1998 [1933]), pp. 102–103.

[10] Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony*, p. 139.

[11] Ibid., p. 173. The three Senke schools are Urasenke, Omotesenke and Mushanokōjisenke.

[12] Nishiyama, *Hana to Nihon Bunka*, p. 19 [my translation].
[13] Tanaka, 'Nature–the naturalization of experience as national', pp. 140–1.
[14] Marra, '*Coincidentia Oppositorum*', p. 151.
[15] Rubin, *Injurious to Public Morals: Writers and the Meiji State*, p. 6.
[16] Tom Looser, 'Locating Tokugawa power; the place of the Nō in early modern Japan', in Najita Tetsuo (ed.), *Productions of Culture in Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago East Asian Occasional Papers, No. 10, 1995), pp. 145–95. Steven T. Brown, *Theatricalities of Power: The Cultural Politics of Noh* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 118–28. Tim Cross, 'Performing Hakata: Yamakasa and sōsaku noh', in *Fukuoka University Review of Literature and Humanities*, vol. 39, no. 2 (2008), pp. 367–407.
[17] Herbert Plutschow, *Chaos and Cosmos: Ritual in Early and Medieval Japanese Literature* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), pp. 111, 113.
[18] Nishiyama, *Hana to Nihon Bunka*, p. 19 [my translation].
[19] Ōhashi, 'The hermeneutic approach to Japanese modernity', p. 30.
[20] Thomas McAuley notes that '*Makura kotoba* or "pillow words" were one of the primary poetic resources for poets of the *Man'yō* period and earlier. Single words or phrases, usually of five syllables, associated in poems with certain other fixed words or phrases, *makura kotoba* formed links in terms of meaning, association or sound and provided a means by which a poet could add depth to his/her poems or heighten the tone of his rhetorical style.' http://www.temcauley.staff.shef.ac.uk/search.shtml
[21] Nishiyama, *Hana to Nihon Bunka*, pp. 20–1 [my translation]. The *Nihon Shōki* line reads「香妙し花橘、花妙し桜」, and the Tōhoku lexical items are「さくら」and「田うちざくら」. Kobushi 辛夷 is known as Magnolia kobus.
[22] Gyōsei, *Jitsuroku Shōwa Shi: Gekidō no kiseki*, [Actual Records of Shōwa History: Locus of Violent Shaking], vol. 1 (Tōkyō: Gyōsei, 1987), pp. 70–1.
[23] Ibid., p. 110.
[24] Gyōsei, *Jitsuroku Shōwa Shi: Gekidō no kiseki*, vol. 2, pp. 39, 47–9.
[25] Inoguchi Rikihei and Nakajima Tadashi, *Kamikaze Tokubetsu Kōgekitai*, [Kamikaze Special Attack Units], (Tōkyō: Nippon Shuppan Kyōdō Kabushiki Kaisha, 1951), pp. 272–6. 'Captain Rikihei Inoguchi … was named the Chief of Staff with the 1st Air Fleet in August 1944 in the Philippines and Formosa, holding the position until the end of the war. In this position, he was intimately involved with special attack units against American invasion operations. Inoguchi's nephew Lieutenant (jg) Satoshi Inoguchi, in fact, was a *kamikaze* pilot who gave his life in an attempt to crash-dive into an American ship; his brother, Captain Toshihira Inoguchi, too, sacrificed himself as the captain of the battleship Musashi ten days before Satoshi Inoguchi's death … Immediately after the war, Inoguchi was interrogated by the United States

Navy. He was described by the interrogating officers as a "difficult witness, attempting continually to take charge of the interview and to return to the discussion of his favorite subject, the philosophy of *Kamikaze*".' http://ww2db.com/person_bio.php?person_id=332

[26] Arthur J. Marder, Mark Jacobsen and John Horsfield, *Old Friends, New Enemies: The Royal Navy and the Imperial Japanese Navy, 1942–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), p. 398.

[27] Muranaga Kaoru, *Chiran Tokubetsu Kōgekitai*, [Special Attack Units of Chiran], (Kagoshima: Japlan Books, 1989), p. 46 [my translation].

[28] Although the memorial columns, which are designed to hold candles, were originally confined to the area of the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots, financial contributions by various individuals, groups, and companies mean that the columns are now seen across Chiran.

[29] Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots, *Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots* (Chiran: Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots, n. d.), p. 5.

[30] Inoguchi and Nakajima, *Kamikaze Tokubetsu Kōgekitai*, pp. 272–6. 'Commander Tadashi Nakajima was flight operations officer for the 201st Air Group, which organized the first kamikaze special attack corps. Nakajima later served on the staff of the air fleet that launched suicide attacks against the American fleet around Okinawa.' http://wgordon.web.wesleyan.edu/kamikaze/books/personal/inoguchi/index.htm

[31] Mainichi Shinbun, *Tokubetsu Kōgekitai*, [Special Attack Units] (Tōkyō: Mainichi Shinbun, 1979), pp. 62–77. For the definitive taxonomy of *tokkōtai* naming practices, see Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalisms: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 164–5. The following extract from Ohnuki-Tierney's p. 164 explains the sakura references contained in the Mainichi Shinbun list: '*Yoshino-tai* (Yoshino is the mountain chain best known for cherry blossoms where the Go-Daigo emperor was forced into exile by Shōgun Ashikaga) … *Sakura-i-tai* (cherry blossom-well corps; 'cherry blossom-well' refers to a famous place where Kusunoki Masashige, who fought for the Go-Daigo emperor against Shōgun Ashikaga, parted with his eldest son, Kusunoki Masatsura).'

[32] Rekishi Gunzō, *The Existing Weapons of the Imperial Forces* (Tōkyō: Gakken, 2004), p. 41.

[33] Muranaga, *Chiran Tokubetsu Kōgekitai*, p. 85. See Figure 2.

[34] Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots, *Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots*, p. 19.

[35] Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalisms*, cover photograph.

[36] Asahi Graph, 'Ama kakeru kamigami', [The gods who soared to heaven], in *Asahi Graph* (15 May 1945), pp. 2–5. See Figure 3.
[37] Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots, *Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots*, p. 3.
[38] Ibid., p. 5.
[39] With my family network uniting former enemies, I can read two sets of patriotic interpretations of Chiran history: 'Look what you made us do … ' versus 'Look what the strong among you did to those weaker … '
[40] See Appendix in Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalisms*, pp. 307–40. Ohnuki-Tierney, E. *Kamikaze Diaries: Reflections of Japanese Student Soldiers* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
[41] Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalisms*, p. 168.
[42] Consider the following comments of Lt Commander Shiga, 343 Kokutai, upon learning that the central staff wanted to extract a special attack unit from the 343 Kokutai. In a courageous reversal of standard operating procedure, Lt Commander Shiga suggested a top-down recruitment pattern that gave the privilege of volunteering for special attack missions to the most powerful and senior officers. 'I thought it was about time this would come up. Commander. This is what I suggest. The first ones to do the special attack will be the experienced pilots out of the Naval Academy. I will take command of the first mission. Please also tell the central staff so eager about the special attack that they can ride along to see what it's like. When all the *chūtai* [company] commanders are gone, then the *buntai* [squad] commanders will go. When all officers are gone, then Commander Genda, please yourself go. If you mean to let the Warrant Officers and the Petty Officers go first, I will never approve!' Miyazaki Isamu, *Kaettekita Shiden-kai*, [Shiden-kai who came back], trans. Takeuchi Hiroshi, (Tōkyō: Kōjinsha, 2006). Available online at http://www.j-aircraft.com/research/quotes/kamikaze.html
[43] For a succinct outline of the organizational structure of the Chiran Peace Museum for Kamikaze Pilots, and an overview of how those bodies are dealing with the problem of how to transmit the *tokkōtai* legacy to future generations, see Michael Lucken, 'Remodelling Public Space: the Fate of War Monuments, 1945–1987', in Sven Saaler and Wolfgang Schwentker (eds), *The Power of Memory in Modern Japan* (Folkstone: Global Oriental, 2008), pp. 135–54.
[44] '"Divine Nation" Remark: Opposition Parties Prepare Demand for Prime Minister's Resignation', in *Asahi Shinbun*, 17 May 2000, p. 1. Another relevant extract is from the Prime Minister's Remarks to the Shintō Federation of Diet Members Group: 'the Japanese nation is a divine nation centered on the Emperor'. See Johann Nawrocki, '"*Nihon no kuni wa tennou o chuushin to suru kami no kuni*": The Divine Country Debate 2000,' in Klaus Antoni, Hiroshi

Kubota, Johann Nawrocki and Michael Wachutka (eds.), *Religion and National Identity in the Japanese Context* (Hamburg: Lit, 2002), pp. 289-300.

[45] Ohnuki-Tierney *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalisms*, p. 168.

[46] Shunsuke Tsurumi, *An Intellectual History of Wartime Japan 1931–1945* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1986), p. 75.

[47] Norma Fields, *In the Realm of the Dying Emperor: Japan at Century's End* (New York: Vintage, 1992), pp. 107, 108, 146–7.

[48] *Japan Times*, 27 November 2004, p. 1.

[49] Ienaga Saburō, *The Pacific War, 1931–1945: A Critical Perspective on Japan's Role in World War II*, trans. Frank Baldwin (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978 [1968]), pp. 47–8.

[50] 'Kusunoki Masashige (?-1336) died supporting the ill-fated Kenmu Restoration attempted by the Emperor Go-daigo. In folk mythology and school textbooks before the Second World War, he was depicted as the supreme paragon of imperial loyalty. He committed suicide [*seppuku*] after his defeat by Ashikaga Takauji at the decisive battle of Minatogawa in 1336.' Andrew Cobbing and Masatarō Itami, *Kawada Ryōkichi, Jeanie Eadie's Samurai: The Life and Times of a Meiji Entrepreneur and Agricultural Pioneer* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2006), p. 263. See note 31, Chapter 3.

[51] Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, 'Cherry blossoms as symbols of peace and war', Center for Japanese Studies Noon Lecture Series, University of Michigan, 21 September 1995.

[52] I would like to thank my Fukuoka University colleagues, Professors Hirana and Nakanishi for bringing this wartime tea practice to my attention. Despite newspaper accounts of *senshō kigan* ceremonies at Hakozaki Shrine being reported in the 12 January 1939 edition of the *Fukuoka Nichinichi Shinbun*, at press time Hakozaki Shrine have been unable to locate any documents directly related to the *senshō kigan kencha* ceremonies. At present, I have only anecdotal evidence of the *senshō kigan kencha* ceremonies. An example of other *kigan* ceremonies at Hakozaki Shrine includes a 1937 fund-raising drive aiming to donate a military tank being marked by a *jōju kigan sai*, a festival designed to accomplish that specific achievement. For a photograph commemorating the beginning of that fund-raising drive, see Ishitaki Toyomi, *Me de miru: Fukuoka Shi no Hyaku Nen* [Seeing with Eyes: One Hundred Years of Fukuoka City], (Matsumoto: Kyōdō Shuppan, 2001), p. 93. In future work, I intend to address Fukuoka *kencha* and *kucha* tea practices in their local (Nambō Ryu at Kushida Shrine, Munakata Taisha, and Tōrinji Temple) and national (Hakozaki Shrine) manifestations, and contrast these domestic tea practices with the international serving of sacramental tea (the peace activism of the fifteenth generation Urasenke Grand Master).

## Chapter 4

[1] Barak Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006), p. 40.
[2] Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki Hōan Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki* [Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Three Hundred and Fiftieth Commemorative Service], (Kyōto: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki Hōan Kyōsankai: 1940), p. 333.
[3] Michael Lucken, 'Remodelling Public Space: the Fate of War Monuments, 1945–1987', in Sven Saaler and Wolfgang Schwentker (eds), *The Power of Memory in Modern Japan* (Folkstone: Global Oriental 2008), p. 148. I later render this 'eight bounds, one roof' slogan as 'the eight corners of the world being united under one Japanese roof' to reinforce the imperial sentiment implied by this phrase.
[4] Darrell W. Davis, *Picturing Japaneseness: Monumental Style, National Identity, Japanese Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 2.
[5] John Owen Gauntlett (trans.), Kokutai no Hongi: *Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 50.
[6] Robert King Hall, 'Editor's Introduction', in John Owen Gauntlett (trans.), Kokutai no Hongi: *Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), p. 10.
[7] Ibid, p. 36. For a concise overview of how the *kokutai* mythology resulted in restrictions on academic freedom, see Bob Tadashi Wakabayashi, 'In name only: imperial sovereignty in early modern Japan', in *Journal of Japanese Studies*, vol. 17, no. 1 (1991), pp. 25–57.
[8] Gauntlett (trans.), *Kokutai no Hongi*, p. 91.
[9] Ibid, pp. 94–5. The square brackets are part of the original translation.
[10] Ibid, p. 75.
[11] Ibid, p. 146.
[12] Ibid, p. 82.
[13] Hall, 'Editor's Introduction', p. 9.
[14] Gauntlett (trans.), *Kokutai no Hongi*, p. 79.
[15] Ibid, p. 78.
[16] Ibid, p. 129.
[17] Ibid, p. 145.
[18] These synonyms for Japan and their renditions into English come from the second of seven appendixes. Ibid, p. 189.
[19] Ibid, pp. 79, 53, 70, 97, 83, 146.
[20] Ibid, p. 157.
[21] Arthur Thornhill, *Six Circles, One Dewdrop: The Religio-Aesthetic World of Komparu Zenchiku* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 9.
[22] Rupert A. Cox, *The Zen Arts: An Anthropological Study of the Culture of Aesthetic Form in Japan* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 62.

[23] Thornhill, *Six Circles, One Dewdrop*, p. 9.
[24] Gauntlett (trans.), *Kokutai no Hongi*, pp. 157–9.
[25] The Imperial Rescript extracts are from the official translation, reprinted as Appendix IV in: Gauntlett (trans.), *Kokutai no Hongi*, p. 192. The Gengensai petition translation is from: Barbara Lynne Rowland Mori, *Americans Studying the Traditional Japanese Art of the Tea Ceremony: The Internationalizing of a Traditional Art* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1992), p. 13.
[26] Gauntlett (trans.), *Kokutai no Hongi*, p. 83.
[27] Ibid, p. 80.
[28] Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, p. 35.
[29] Ibid, pp. 70–1 [emphasis in original].
[30] Tōjō Fuminori, *Toshōkan no kindai: Watashiron – Toshōkan ha kōshite okikunatta*, [The Modern of the Library: A Private Theory – How the Library became Big], (Tōkyō: Potto, 1999), p. 243.
[31] Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, p. 40. In what can be read as an additional indictment of Japan as the Land of Peace, Kushner outlines the historical precedent for this conduct: 'In what became standard operating procedure later on, the Japanese government during the Sino-Japanese War paid Reuters bribes to print articles that portrayed the Japanese in a positive light … The Japanese government took these measures in response to negative international press after the massacre of Chinese troops and civilians at Port Arthur in late November 1894.' Ibid, p. 14.
[32] Ibid, p. 43.
[33] Ibid, p. 40.
[34] Ibid, p. 41. For US journalists on the Japanese payroll, see pp. 40–3.
[35] Ienaga Saburō, *The Pacific War, 1931–1945: A Critical Perspective on Japan's Role in World War II*, trans. Frank Baldwin (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978 [1968]), pp. 13–14.
[36] Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, p. 22.
[37] Ibid, p. 14.
[38] Ibid, p. 24.
[39] Serialized in *Nihon Keizei Shimbun* (1986–7), *Chanoyu Quarterly* from volume 71 (1992) to 87 (1997), and published by *Asahi Shinbum* on 15 August 1980 to commemorate the end of the Second World War. 'The phrase "*ichiwan kara piisufurrunesu o*" was composed by Sen Sōshitsu XV as the theme or motto for the Third National Chadō Urasenke Tankōkai Seinenbu (Youth Division) Convention, held in Kyōtō in July 1973. Ever since then it has been the *iemoto*'s and Urasenke's common motto. Often it is rendered into English as "Peacefulness from a Bowl of Tea", but "Peacefulness through a Bowl of Tea" is the preferred rendition.' Personal correspondence, Gretchen Mittwer, International Division, Chadō Urasenke Tankōkai, Inc., 16 August 2001. See also Herbert Plutschow, *The Grand Tea Master: A Biography of Hounsai Sōshitsu Sen XV* (Trumbull, CT: Weatherhill, 2001).

[40] Etsuko Katō, *Tea Ceremony and Women's Empowerment in Modern Japan: Bodies Re-Presenting the Past* (London: Routledge-Curzon, 2004), p. 59.
[41] Christine C. Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry: Masuda Takashi and the Mitsui Circle* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993). For the role of Matsunaga Jian as the successor to Masuda Donnō and Hara Sankei, see Fukuoka Municipal Art Museum, *Matsunaga Jian Collection* (Fukuoka: Fukuoka Municipal Art Museum, 2001).
[42] Kumakura Isao, 'The history of *chanoyu* in early-modern Japan', trans. Zane Ferry, in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 75 (1994), pp. 18–20.
[43] Hisamatsu Shinichi, 'The Way of Tea and Buddhism', in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 74 (1993), p. 23.
[44] This extract from Hideyoshi's edict comes from Guth, *Art, Tea, and Industry*, p. 69.
[45] Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, p. 71.
[46] Kumakura, 'The history of *chanoyu* in early-modern Japan', p. 19.
[47] Karatani Kojin, 'Uses of aesthetics: after Orientalism', trans. Sabu Kohso, in *boundary 2*, vol. 25, no. 2 (1998), pp. 155, 156.
[48] Naoki Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On 'Japan' and Cultural Nationalism* (Minneapolis and London, University of Minnesota Press, 1997), pp. 101–102.
[49] Kumakura Isao, *Kindai sadōshi no kenkyū* [Research into Modern Tea History], (Tōkyō: Nippon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai: 1980), pp. 112–14.
[50] Tanaka Hidetaka uses the *kencha* term for tea offered in Buddhist temples and Shintō shrines. Tanaka Hidetaka, *Kindai Chadō no Rekishi Shakai Gaku*, [Historical Sociology of Modern *Chadō*](Kyōto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2007), pp. 90–118. However, in the case of the Nambō Ryū school of tea located in Hakata, *kencha* is offered to the *kami* of the altar of the Shintō Kushida Shrine on 12 July as part of a series of actions designed to protect the runners of the Hakata Gion Yamakasa festival. On 3 October 2008, I had the honour of sitting on the *honden* stage of the main altar of Munakata Taisha as Nambō Kai Director Takeguchi Sōhō performed the annual *kencha shiki* procedure. On the other hand, *kucha* is offered to the *hotoke* of Nambō Sōkei, Tachibana Jitsuzan (1655–1708) and deceased directors of Nambō Kai at the Buddhist Tōrinji Temple in November. As Nambō Ryū is governed by Nambō Kai, there is no *iemoto*. Graduates of the Nambō Ryū school who have attained the teaching qualification are eligible to perform these public *kencha* and *kucha* tea rites.
[51] Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, p. 123.
[52] Kosaku Yoshino, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan: A Sociological Enquiry* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), p. 215.
[53] Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, p. 71.
[54] Leslie Pincus, *Authenticating Culture in Imperial Japan: Kuki Shūzō and the Rise of National Aesthetics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 221.

55 Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki Hōan Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki* [Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Three Hundred and Fiftieth Commemorative Service], (Kyōto: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki Hōan Kyōsankai: 1940). Although the Senke *iemoto* refer to their revered ancestor in various ways, for the sake of clarity here he is simply Rikyū. The rich complexity of grand master names has also simplified. Tantansai, the fourteenth Urasenke *iemoto* is referred to as Sen Sōshitsu (1893–1964). Sokuchūsai, the thirteenth Omotesenke *iemoto* is referred to as Sen Sōsa (1901–79). Yukōsai, the twelfth Mushanokōjisenke *iemoto* is referred to as Sen Sōshu (1889–1953). When I refer to the nine Daitokuji tea venues, this means eight tea-rooms plus the serving of *kucha* in front of the Rikyū memorial altar. In the following chapter, Tanaka Hidetaka confines his discussion to the eight tea-rooms.

56 A slightly enlarged version of this graphic design is featured on the cover of Yabe Yoshiaki, *Rikyū no Soi: hie, shimi, sabi, kare kara no hiyaku* [The Ingenuity of Rikyū: The Leap from *Hie, Shimi, Sabi and Kare*] (Tōkyō: Kakugawa Shoten, 1995).

57 On page 209 these three characters then appear as the name of a Rikyū-style tea scoop, and the bamboo tube cover for that tea scoop and its wooden box lid also feature the *iemoto* calligraphy of those three characters. These three characters make a cameo appearance as Rikyū exits in the final section of this book. Some of the images discussed here are available online via http://ci.nii.ac.jp/search?author=Cross+Tim

58 Morgan Pitelka, *Handmade Culture: Raku Potters, Patrons, and Tea Practitioners in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), pp. 135, 202.

59 Takahashi Tatsuo, *Chadō Meibutsu* [Considering Famous Utensils], (Tōkyō: Daiokayama Shoten, 1931). Sue Sōkō, *Sadō Jiten* [Way of Tea Dictionary], (Tōkyō: Kōbunsha, 1944).

60 Rikyū Kōji Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji*, p. 224.

61 Kushner, *The Thought War: Japanese Imperial Propaganda*, p. 6.

62 This translated summary is partial because of space restrictions. Most attention is giving to those passages which document *iemoto* tea functioning as state nationalism. Current work in progress includes a more thorough investigation of the material summarized here and the pleasures of wartime tea.

63 Sen Sōsa, 'Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki ni saishite' [On the occasion of the three hundred and fiftieth memorial service for Rikyū Kōji], in Rikyū Kōji Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji*, pp. 226–8.

64 Sen Sōshitsu, 'Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nen Enki Kinenchō [A note on the three hundred and fiftieth memorial service for Rikyū Kōji], in Rikyū Kōji Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji*, pp. 229–34.

65 Sen Sōshu, 'Rikyū Kōji no Sadō' [The Way of Tea of Rikyū Kōji], in Rikyū Kōji Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji*, pp. 235–54. The details of the 23 April 1940 lecture event at the Asahi Kaikan run from pp. 255–315.

[66] Rikyū Kōji Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji*, p. 256.
[67] Sen Sōsa, 'Aisatsu' [Greetings], in Rikyū Kōji Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji*, p. 261.
[68] Fujikake Shizuya, 'Ando-Muramachi Jidai no Geijitsu to Sadō' [Art and the Way of Tea in the Ando-Muramachi Era], in Rikyū Kōji Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji*, p. 277.
[69] J. Victor Koschmann, *Revolution and Subjectivity in Postwar Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 219.
[70] For an example of the conviction that peace can be realized through the sharing of tea, see the retired Urasenke Grand Master XV preparing tea in Berlin on 10 May 2000. http://www.chanoyu.com/SenSoshitsuXVBerlinWall.html
[71] Ienaga, *The Pacific War*, p. 123.
[72] The Omotesenke school currently performs *kencha* tea in Hakozaki Shrine once every two years.
[73] For a plot summary of Tanaka's *Oginsama* (Love under the crucifix) that highlights the link between Rikyū and suicide, see Tim Cross, 'Rikyū has left the tea-room: cinema interrogates the anecdotal legend', in Morgan Pitelka (ed.) *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 153.

## *Chapter 5*

[1] Lowell Dittmer and Samuel S. Kim (eds), *China's Quest for National Identity* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 18.
[2] This following section draws on Tanaka Hidetaka, *Kindai Chadō no Rekishi Shakai Gaku* [Historical Sociology of Modern *Chadō*] (Kyōto: Shibunkaku Shuppan, 2007), pp. 90–118. Although I used the distinction between *kencha* in Shintō shrines and *kucha* in Buddhist temples in the previous chapter, this Tanaka section follows his use of *kencha* as a generic term for sacramental tea. This is consistent with the usage of the commemorative publication *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki*.
[3] In Fukuoka tea-rooms and other Hakata sites I have often heard that this use of media was a Senke innovation. For an account of how the founder of the Dai Nippon Chadō Gakkai, Tanaka Senshō (1875–1960), left Urasenke to establish that rival organization in 1898 and commenced the systematic explanation of tea serving procedures in the *Chadō Gakushi* magazine in 1900, see Morgan Pitelka, *Handmade Culture: Raku Potters, Patrons, and Tea Practitioners in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), pp. 153–4. Despite their initial opposition to the Tanaka strategy of revealing trade secrets, the three Senke tea schools quickly imitated his innovation.
[4] Okakura Tenshin (Oketani Hideaki trans.), *Cha no Hon* [The Book of Tea],

(Tōkyō: Kodansha, 1994), pp. 217–216. As the original English version of Tenshin's work commences at the 'back' of this bilingual book, the conventional ordering of page numbers is reversed.

[5] Ibid., p. 140.

[6] Gregory P. A. Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), p. 86.

[7] Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen at War* (New York and Tōkyō: Weatherhill, 1997), p. 105.

[8] Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki Hōan Kyōsankai, *Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki* [Yokōroku: Rikyū Kōji Three Hundred and Fiftieth Commemorative Service], (Kyōto: Rikyū Kōji Sanbyaku Gojyū Nenki Hōan Kyōsankai: 1940), p. 333.

[9] Okakura, *Cha no Hon*, p. 140.

[10] Takeuchi Jō, *Sen Rikyū* [Sen Rikyū], (Tōkyō: Sōgensha, 1939). Nishihori Hitomi, *Sen Rikyū* [Sen Rikyū], (Tōkyō: Kawahara Shoten, 1940). Suzuki Keiichi, *Sen Rikyū Zenshū* [Sen Rikyū Complete Writings], (Tōkyō: Gakugei Shoin, 1941). Sue Sōkō, *Rikyū wo gyōshi shite* [Considering Rikyū], (Tōkyō: Kōbunsha, 1942). Kuwata Tadachika, *Sen Rikyū* [Sen Rikyū], (Tōkyō: Seijisha, 1942). Inoue Yūichirō, *Sen Rikyū* [Sen Rikyū], (Tōkyō: Daikandō, 1942). Sen Sōshu, *Rikyū Kōji no Chadō* [The Way of Tea of Rikyū], (Tōkyō: Geibun Shoin, 1944).

[11] Takeuchi Jō, *Sen Rikyū*, pp. 1–8. This is a common observation. See, for example, Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony*, pp. 3–10.

[12] Two versions of the film *Oginsama*, directed by Tanaka Kinuyo in 1962 and Kumai Kei in 1978, link Christianity with the matter of Rikyū's adopted daughter in her love for one of Rikyū's followers, Christian *daimyō*, Takayama Ukon (1553–1615). On the question of whether this incident of Rikyū refusing to give Hideyoshi what he wanted was significant in causing Rikyū's death, see Herbert Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2003), p. 105. Plutschow also cites the absence of Rikyū in the Jesuit documentary evidence to conclude that Rikyū was not a Christian. See also Yamada Muan, *Kirishitan Sen no Rikyū: Shishi Jiken no Nazo o toku* [Christian Sen no Rikyū: Solving the Riddle of His Death] (Tōkyō: Kawade Shobō Shinsha, 1995).

[13] Suzuki Keiichi, 'Sen Rikyū Zenshū Henshū Kankō ni saishite'[On the occasion of the publication of *Sen Rikyū Zenshū*], in Suzuki Keiichi, *Sen Rikyū Zenshū* [Sen Rikyū Complete Writings], (Tōkyō: Gakugei Shoin, 1941), p. 5.

[14] Ibid., pp. 5–6.

[15] Sen Sōsa, 'Rikyū Kōji no Haka' [The tomb of Rikyū], in Suzuki Keiichi, *Sen Rikyū Zenshū* [Sen Rikyū Complete Writings], (Tōkyō: Gakugei Shoin, 1941),

pp. 7–9. Sen Sōshitsu, 'Rikyū no cha' [The tea of Rikyū], in Suzuki Keiichi, *Sen Rikyū Zenshū* [Sen Rikyū Complete Writings], (Tōkyō: Gakugei Shoin, 1941), pp. 10–11. Sen Sōshu, 'Rikyū Kōji Go ni tsuite' [About the name Rikyū Kōji], in Suzuki Keiichi, *Sen Rikyū Zenshū* [Sen Rikyū Complete Writings], (Tōkyō: Gakugei Shoin, 1941), pp. 12–15. The Suzuki conclusion is closer in tone to the Sen prefaces than his own patriotic preface. The death poem of Rikyū appears on page 254, but there has been a typesetting mistake in the Chinese *kanshi* verse: because the character for power appears twice, the character for embrace has been omitted.

[16] Kuwata Tadachika, *Shōgun to Sadō* [Generals and the Way of Tea], (Tōkyō: Ichijyō Shobō, 1943). The Rikyū *konomi* taste has become a brand name in Senke tea culture.

[17] Kuwata, *Sen Rikyū*, preface pp. 1, 4–5.

[18] Sen Sōshu, *Rikyū Kōji no Chadō*, pp. 124–5. Strength = power = authority.

[19] For a comprehensive account of contemporary forms of these advanced tea pleasures, see James-Henry Holland, '*Kaiki* and *oboegaki* in contemporary Japanese tea practice', in Morgan Pitelka (ed.) *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 184–203.

[20] Sen Sōshu, *Rikyū Kōji no Chadō*, pp. 146–8. The reference to the incident at the end of the previous year is difficult to interpret with certainty because the essay was originally published in 1940. There is no indication whether certain elements were rewritten or if the 1942 article is a faithful reproduction of the 1940 piece. Therefore, it is not clear whether the previous year means 1939 or 1941. What is obvious is that Japanese soldiers died in an incident that was well enough known by readers to be recognized with an allusion and without being specifically named.

[21] Etsuko Katō, *Tea Ceremony and Women's Empowerment in Modern Japan: Bodies Re-Presenting the Past* (London: Routledge-Curzon, 2004), p. 55–7.

[22] Suzuki Daisetzu (Norman Waddell trans.), *Japanese Spirituality* (Tōkyō: Yushodo, 1972), pp. 11, 18, 19. Suzuki distinguishes between *seishin* (spirit) and *reisei* (spirituality, spirit-nature) on p. 11.

[23] James W. Heisig, *Philosophers of Nothingness: An Essay on the Kyoto School* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1994), p. 206.

[24] David A. Dilworth, Valdo H. Viglielmo, with Agustin Jacnto Zavala (trans., eds), *Sourcebook for Modern Japanese Philosophy: Selected Documents* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1998), p. 280.

[25] Victoria, *Zen at War*, p. 112. The following historical summary draws freely from this book.

[26] Ibid, pp. 25, 30.

[27] Ibid, p. 199.

[28] Brian Daizen Victoria, *Zen War Stories* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 150.

[29] Ibid, p. 151. The first set of square brackets is my addition, the second set were inserted by Daizen Victoria.
[30] Dilworth, Viglielmo, with Zavala, *Sourcebook for Modern Japanese Philosophy*, p. 246.
[31] Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, pp. 66–78 contains an account of the organized resistance of the *Shinkō Bukkyō Seinen Dōmei* (Youth League for Revitalizing Buddhism) and more individual acts of resistance. This small number of conscientious objectors does not alter the reality that by 'the 1920s, Japanese institutional Buddhist, as a whole, firmly supported Japan's military and colonial policies'. Ibid, p. 66.
[32] Ibid, p. 151.
[33] Victoria, *Zen at War*, pp. 62–5, 142–3.
[34] Ibid, pp. 63–5, 143.
[35] Ibid, p. 138. 'Daiun "revitalized" Zen … by creating something he called "war Zen" (*sensō Zen*) as early as 1915, at the time of Japan's entry into World War I. It was in this year that he published *A Primer on the Practice of Zen* (*Zazen no Kaitei*), of which "War Zen" was the eleventh chapter.' Ibid, p. 136.
[36] Ibid, pp. 138–9.
[37] Brian Daizen Victoria, 'When God(s) and Buddhas go to war', in Mark Selden and Alvin Y. So (eds), *War and State Terrorism: The United States, Japan, and the Asia-Pacific in the Long Twentieth Century* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), p. 101.
[38] Winston L. King, *Zen and the Way of the Sword: Arming the Samurai Psyche* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 209. The similarity between the illustrations of the basic *kata* of sword attack and the pp. 209–10 illustrations of the flight path of *kamikaze* attack planes renders the Special Attack project as an update of martial arts.
[39] Victoria, *Zen War Stories*, p. 138.
[40] Richard O'Neill, *Suicide Squads of World War II* (London: Heritage Press, 1996), p. 144. This question of the sacred war demands inflicted by the state upon young men of the special attack units is further addressed in Chapter 9 which examines the 1989 film of Kumai Kei.
[41] Jennifer L. Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), p. 89.
[42] Sen Sōshitsu, *Cha no Kokoro* [Spirit of Tea], (Tōkyō: Mainichi Shimbun, 1975), p. 29.
[43] Pitelka, *Handmade Culture: Raku Potters, Patrons, and Tea Practitioners in Japan*, p. 153.
[44] Noshōan Baien, 'Jyobun' [Preface], in Takahashi Tatsuo, *Chadō Meibutsu Kō* [Considering Famous Utensils], (Tōkyō: Daiokayama Shoten, 1931), pp. 1–5.
[45] Darrell W. Davis, *Picturing Japaneseness: Monumental Style, National Identity, Japanese Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 2.

[46] Fujimura Tsukuru (ed.), *Nihon Gaku no Taikei to Kokumin Kyōiku; Kokugo Kyōiku Shichū* (The System of Japan Studies and National Citizen Education; Currents of Thought in Japanese Language Education), (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1936–1937). As a bound collection, there is no global pagination. Therefore each chapter commences from p. 1.
[47] Kōno Seizō, 'Shintō to Kyoiku' [Shintō and Education], in Fujimura Tsukuru (ed.), *Nihon Gaku no Taikei to Kokumin Kyōiku; Kokugo Kyōiku Shichū* (The System of Japan Studies and National Citizen Education; Currents of Thought in Japanese Language Education), (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1936), pp. 1–28.
[48] Okuda Shōzo, 'Sadō to Kyoiku' [The Way of Tea and Education], in Fujimura Tsukuru (ed.), *Nihon Gaku no Taikei to Kokumin Kyōiku; Kokugo Kyōiku Shichū* (The System of Japan Studies and National Citizen Education; Currents of Thought in Japanese Language Education), (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1936), pp. 1–14.
[49] Ōe Sumi, *Reigi Sahō Zenshū* [Collected Writings on Etiquette], vol. 1, (Tōkyō: Chūōkōronsha, 1938), unpaginated preface.
[50] Suzuki Daisetzu, *Nihon-teki Reisei* [Japanese Spirituality] (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1972), p. 109.
[51] Tanigawa Tetsuzō, C*ha no Bigaku* [Tea Aesthetics], (Tōkyō: Sekatsusha, 1939), p. 32.
[52] Ibid, p. 10 contains a diamond-shaped diagram that represents the relationship between these four elements of tea culture.
[53] This following section draws on Takahashi Daian, 'Sadō Shōnen' [True Principles of the Way of Tea], in Iguchi Kaisen (ed.), *Chadō* [The Way of Tea], (Tōkyō: Sōgensha, 1936), pp. 1–13. Most attention is given to pp. 6–9. Takahashi Yoshio is writing using his tea name Daian.
[54] Ibid., pp. 8–9.
[55] Takahashi Yoshio, *Sadō Dokuhon* [Way of Tea Reader], (Tōkyō: Rōranen, 1949), pp. 44, 48, 176, 184, 185, 187, 190.
[56] Sen Sōshu, 'Jyobun' [Preface], in Tanaka Kishirō, *Nihon Sadō Ron* [Japanese Way of Tea Theory], (Kyōto: Jūjiya Shoten, 1940), pp. 1–2.
[57] Tanaka Kishirō, *Nihon Sadō Ron* [Japanese Way of Tea Theory], (Kyōto: Jūjiya Shoten, 1940), pp. 151–61.
[58] Nishihori Hitomi, *Nihon Sadō Shi* [Japanese Way of Tea History], (Tōkyō: Sōgensha, 1940), pp. 3–4.
[59] Sasaki Sanmi, *Chaki Zusetsu* [Tea Container Explanatory Diagrams], (Kyōto: Kōbunsha, 1944), pp. 1–4.
[60] Sasaki Sanmi, *Raku Chawan* [Raku-ware Teabowls], (Kyōto: Kawahara Shoten, 1946), p. 228. The following paragraphs summarize pp. 1–2. Although published after the end of the war, I have included it because the author was presumably thinking about writing this book during the war. The book introduces the general characteristics of Raku ware and gives an

overview of the House of Raku by outlining the history of each generation of Raku potters.
[61] Emori Nahiko, 'On tea-room enjoyment', in Emori Nahiko and Asahitani Sau, *Chashitsu* [Tearooms], (Ōsaka: Asahi Shimbun, 1949), unpaginated.
[62] Ibid.

*Chapter 6*

[1] John Storey, *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture: Theories and Methods* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996), p. 3.
[2] Gerald Groemer, 'Translator's Introduction', in Nishiyama Matsunosuke (Gerald Groemer trans.) *Edo Culture: Daily Life and Diversions in Urban Japan, 1600–1868* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), pp. 4–5. For insights into the internal politics of early modern grand master system of noh see Eric Rath, *The Ethos of Noh: Actors and Their Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004).
[3] Nishiyama Matsunosuke, *Nishiyama Matsunosuke Chosakushū* [Nishiyama Matsunosuke Collected Works], 8 vols, *Iemoto no Kenkyū* [Grand Master Research], vol. 1, Tōkyō: Furukawa Hirofumi Kan, 1982, pp. 6–20.
[4] Peter Nosco, *Remembering Paradise: Nativism and Nostalgia in Eighteenth-Century Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 18.
[5] Herbert Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2003), p. 180.
[6] Tom Looser, 'Locating Tokugawa Power; The Place of the Nō in Early Modern Japan', in Najita Tetsuo (ed.), *Productions of Culture in Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago East Asian Occasional Papers, No. 10, 1995), pp. 145–95. Tom Looser, *Visioning Eternity: Aesthetics, Politics, and History in the Early Modern Noh Theater* (Ithaca: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2008).
[7] Rupert A. Cox, *The Zen Arts: An Anthropological Study of the Culture of Aesthetic Form in Japan* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 62.
[8] Hanayagi Genshū, *Shura: Iemoto Seidō datō,* [Shura: Demolishing the Grand Master System], (Tōkyō: Mi Ichi Shobō, 1981). The following paragraphs draw freely from pp. 1–53, 221–46.
[9] Japanese Architecture and Art Net Users System, 'Asura'. http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/deta/a/ashura.htm
[10] Ishimori Eiko, *Sengo Nippon no Dentō wo dame ni shita Sakadō no Iemoto: Rikyū no Kokoro wo mucha uri shi, Kinken no Adabana ni kuruisaku Sōshōtachi* [The Grand Masters of Tea and Flowers who trashed Post-war Tradition: the spirit of Rikyū sold out, the financial authority of the crazy blooms of the Masters], (Tōkyō: Yamate Shobō, 1977). The following paragraphs draw freely from pp. 1–76.

[11] For more on the role of Dai Nippon Chadō Gakkai in the modern revival of tea culture, see Morgan Pitelka, *Handmade Culture: Raku Potters, Patrons, and Tea Practitioners in Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), pp. 153–4.

[12] Tachikawa Danshi, *Iemoto wo warawaseru: waraubeki ka shinubeki ka, tobubeki ka,* [Making the Grand Master laugh: should I laugh, die, or fly?], (Tōkyō: DHC: 1999), p. 289.

[13] Heinz Morioka and Miyoko Sasaki, *Rakugo: the popular narrative art of Japan* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1990), p. 289.

[14] Kawabata Yasunari, Nobel Prize Acceptance Speech, 12 December 1968. http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1968/kawabata-lecture.html

[15] 'The Kōetsu-kai association organized for the benefactor in the way of tea, Hon'ami Kōetsu, holds an annual meeting for three days, the 11th, 12th and 13th of November, at the Kōetsu-*ji* Temple at Takagamine in northern Kyōto. Through the kind offices of the antique dealers in the five major cities of Tokyo, Kyoto, Osaka, Nagoya and Kanazawa, tea gatherings are held, three *koicha* [thick tea] and one *usucha* [thin tea]. Famous tea utensils from throughout the nation are mobilized, and the whole line-up consists of *oo-meibutsu*, *meibutsu*, important art objects and important cultural assets. This really rivals the tea gathering of the Tokyo Daishi-*kai* (see 'April') in the spring. As this is a favourable season, the richest men and great tea people rush there to view the treasures.' Sasaki Sanmi (Shaun McCabe and Iwasaki Satoko trans.), *Chado: The Way of Tea: a Japanese Tea Master's Almanac* (Boston: Tuttle Publishing, 2002), p. 555.

[16] Yoshimura Teiji, '*Senbazuru* ron', [*Thousand Crane* theory], in Kawabata Bungaku Kenkyūkai (ed.) *Kawabata Yasunari no ningen to geijutsu* (Tōkyō: Kyōkai Shuppan Sentaa, 1971), p. 176. Although David Pollack has noted that Yoshimura's treatment of tea in *Senbazuru* (Thousand Cranes) 'offers little of interest', on p. 177 Yoshimura offers a succinct outline of how tea is implicated in the moral turpitude of the novel. The following section draws on Chapter 5 of Pollack's book and the Yoshimura article.

[17] David Pollack, *Reading against Culture: Ideology and Narrative in the Japanese Novel* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press: 1992), p. 102.

[18] Kawabata Yasunari, E. G. Seidensticker (trans.), *Thousand Cranes* (New York: Vintage: 1996 [1952]), p. 78.

[19] Rather than reveal the details of the narrative to those readers who have not yet read Kawabata's novel, this section proceeds by addressing the role of tea in the plot in a rather general manner.

[20] Kawabata, *Thousand Cranes*, pp. 62–3.

[21] Ibid., pp. 54–5.
[22] Ibid., p. 54.
[23] Ibid., pp. 27–8.
[24] Ibid., p. 122.
[25] Ibid., pp. 43, 46.
[26] Ibid., pp. 76, 77.
[27] Ibid., p. 25.
[28] Ibid., p. 85.
[29] Pollack, *Reading against Culture*, p. 103.
[30] Kawabata, *Thousand Cranes*, p. 5.
[31] Ibid., pp. 8, 9, 119.
[32] Ibid., p. 19. Reading this novel against the work on gender in tea by Etsuko Katō reveals a certain misogynist tendency in Kawabata's writing. In a different narrative, Kurimoto would be lauded for her autonomy. She is a single woman who is economically independent.
[33] Etsuko Katō, *The Tea Ceremony and Women's Empowerment in Modern Japan* (London: Routledge, 2004), p. 44.
[34] James-Henry Holland, '*Kaiki* and *oboegaki* in contemporary Japanese tea practice', in Morgan Pitelka (ed.) *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 185. Holland attends to the public allusions to the seasons, Japanese history and geography and those private references legible to those guests who know the host well. This distinction between public and more private allusions becomes important when Kikuji attempts to resist the private allusions made by Kurimoto sensei.
[35] Kawabata, *Thousand Cranes*, p. 18.
[36] Pollack, *Reading against Culture*, p. 107.
[37] Ibid., p. 91.
[38] Kawabata, *Thousand Cranes*, p. 137.
[39] Ibid., pp. 19–20.
[40] Ibid., p. 55.
[41] Pollack, *Reading against Culture*, p. 104.
[42] Kawabata, *Thousand Cranes*, pp. 12–13.
[43] Ibid., pp. 121 (Kurimoto), 89 (Kikuji). The quotation is from p. 90.
[44] Ibid., p. 50.
[45] Ibid., p. 123.
[46] Ibid., pp. 19, 20.
[47] Ibid., p. 20.
[48] Pollack, *Reading against Culture*, p. 109.
[49] Kawabata, *Thousand Cranes*, p. 88.
[50] Morgan Pitelka, 'Sen Kōshin Sōsa (1613–1672): writing tea history', in Morgan Pitelka (ed.), *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice* (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 99–100.

[51] Pitelka, *Handmade Culture: Raku Potters, Patrons, and Tea Practitioners in Japan*, pp. 101–102.
[52] Kawabata, *Thousand Cranes*, pp. 109–10.
[53] Emori Nahiko, 'On tea-room enjoyment', in Emori Nahiko and Asahitani Sau, *Chashitsu* [Tearooms], (Ōsaka: Asahi Shimbun, 1949), unpaginated.
[54] Kawabata, *Thousand Cranes*, pp. 88–9.
[55] 'Tawaraya Sōtatsu and the birth of Rimpa' was the title of an exhibition held at the Hosomi Museum in late 2005.
[56] Morgan Pitelka, 'Tea taste: patronage and collaboration among tea masters and potters in early modern Japan', in *Early Modern Japan*, vol. 12, no. 2 (2004), p. 28.
[57] Kawabata, *Thousand Cranes*, p. 76.
[58] Ibid., p. 108.
[59] Ibid., p. 140.
[60] Emori, 'On tea-room enjoyment', unpaginated.
[61] Yoshimura, '*Senbazuru* ron', p. 182.
[62] Kawabata, *Thousand Cranes*, p. 141.
[63] Ibid., pp. 41, 52, 54.
[64] Ibid., pp. 53, 55.
[65] Ibid., p. 78.
[66] Kawabata
http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1968/kawabata-lecture.html
[67] Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony*, p. 192.

## *Chapter 7*

[1] Paul de Man (1978), in Christopher Norris, *Reclaiming Truth: Contribution to a Critique of Cultural Relativism* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1996), pp. 249–50.
[2] Fernando Franco and Suguna Ramanathan, 'The recovery of religious meaning', in *Textual Practice*, vol. 5, no. 2 (1991), pp. 182–3. The quotation continues: '*Powerlessness*, on the other hand, is a way of being that rejoices in the loss of selfish desire, and in so doing, enhances the life-possibilities of others. This entails ceaseless change in the inner self synchronic with structural change, that is, in the pattern of dominating relationships among groups. By *discourse* is meant a practice of power through linguistic articulation which delimits a field of objects, legitimizes perspectives and norms for the elaboration of concepts, and generates texts which are, according to Robert Scholes, appraisive, evaluative, persuasive or rhetorical, bound by rules which govern

their social production and exchange. The basis of discourse is hidden from itself. By *orthodoxy* is meant an understanding of religion mainly based on conformity with established official doctrines and with what discourse holds to be true. By *orthopraxis* is meant the primacy of right action over right doctrine, action rather than belief; in the context of this paper this necessarily implies solidarity with the oppressed and a commitment to liberative action. By *deconstruction* is meant a critical dismantling of texts and symbols in order to pinpoint their rhetorical nature, a refusal to recognize any master theory, and an alertness to the element of undecidability in all systems of communication'.

[3] Robert Scholes, *Textual Power: Literary Theory and the Teaching of English* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

[4] Mitchell Dean, *Critical and Effective Histories: Foucault's Methods and Historical Sociology* (London: Routledge, 1994).

[5] Robert Kramer, 'The Cult of Tea', Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, Department of Far Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1985, p. iv.

[6] Herbert Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2003), p. 192.

[7] Rupert A. Cox, *The Zen Arts: An Anthropological Study of the Culture of Aesthetic Form in Japan* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 64.

[8] Sandra Harding, in Gary A. Olson and Elizabeth Hirsh, 'Starting from marginalized lives: a conversation with Sandra Harding', in Elizabeth Hirsh and Gary A. Olson (eds), *Women Writing Culture* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), p. 6 [emphasis added].

[9] The mid-war period of the career of de Man was subject to more attention than he probably intended: 'Shoshan Felman explicitly addresses self-representation, autobiography and de Man's aesthetic theory in "After the Apocalypse: Paul de Man and the Fall to Silence" 1992. She carefully reads de Man's biography, his wartime journalism, and his silence according to his reading of Rousseau's "Theft of the ribbon" and the false accusation of Marion in *The Confessions*. Her essay reads his theoretical work and his silence as a conscious and ethical accounting for his wartime writings.' Kathleen McHugh, 'The aesthetics of wounding: trauma, self-representation, and the critical voice', in Emory Elliot, Lou Caton and Jeffrey Rhyne (eds), *Aesthetics in a Multicultural Age* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 251.

I would like to thank David Griffiths for bringing the Nazi activities of de Man to my attention.

[10] David Burke Griffiths, *Buddhist Discursive Formations: Keywords, Emotions, Ethics* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004).

[11] Dorinne Kondo, 'The Way of Tea: a symbolic analysis', in *Man*, n. s., no. 20 (1985), pp. 297–306.

[12] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Deconstruction and Cultural Studies: arguments for a deconstructive Cultural Studies', in Nicholas Royle (ed.), *Deconstructions: A User's Guide* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2000), p. 36.
[13] Jennifer L. Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), p. 262.
[14] Ibid., p. 277.
[15] J. A. H. Murray, H. Bradley, W. A. Craigie and C. T. Onions (eds), *The Oxford English Dictionary: Being a Corrected, Re-Issue with an Introduction, Supplement, and Bibliography of A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles Founded Mainly on the Materials Collected by The Philological Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), vol. 2, p. 1246 [emphasis in original].
[16] James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).
[17] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 51.
[18] Anderson, personal correspondence.
[19] Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 23–4.
[20] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 136.
I acknowledge that my use of faith in this paragraph is problematic and requires some clarification. Given that Christian and Islamic religions tend to use faith in their definitions of what constitutes a religion while Judaism actively contests any representation of its practices as being based on faith, the 1991 definition of Franco and Ramanathan appearing at the beginning of this chapter should hopefully eliminate any confusion. While rejecting master narratives, their definition of faith has a social orientation towards enhancing the life-possibilities of others. My interest is in being more aware of the ideological foundations of tea pleasures.
[21] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 136.
[22] Ibid., p. 277.
Ii Naosuke (1815–60) was politically active outside the tea-room: 'Thirteenth *daimyō* of Hikone, 1858–60, served as Bakufu *tairō* (regent) and effectively dictator of Japan. 1858, controversially signed Ansei Treaties without imperial consent, paving way for opening of treaty ports. Tried to reimpose Bakufu authority through draconian Ansei Purge but provoked widespread opposition to Tokugawa regime often manifest in support for the emperor (see *sonnō jōi* movement.) March 1860, assassinated at gates of Edo Castle.' Andrew Cobbing, *Kawada Ryoichi, Jeanie Eadie's Samurai: The Life and Times of a Meiji Entrepreneur and Agricultural Pioneer* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2006), p. 244.
[23] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 51 [emphasis added].
[24] Robert Kramer, 'The Cult of Tea', Ph.D. thesis (University of Chicago, Department of Far Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1985). Tim Cross, 'Reifying the deified Rikyū: mis-representing the intersection of economic

activities, military responsibilities, and aesthetic authority', in *Fukuoka University Review of Literature and Humanities*, vol. 29, no. 4 (1998), pp. 2407–76. The Houses of Sen are not the sole practitioners of this deferential reference to Rikyū as a strategy to advance their own interests. Consider, for example, Miwa Ryūsaku's reference to the interests of Rikyū to justify his case for the presence of the erotic in the tea-room. Miwa Ryūsaku, 'Chashitsu: Miwa Ryūsaku no Migaku' [Tea room: the aesthetic of Miwa Ryūsaku], in *Nagomi*, no. 11 (1996), p. 10.

[25] Kramer, 'The Cult of Tea', pp. viii, 182, 183.

[26] For details of building popular support for the war effort, see Barbara Lynne Rowland Mori, *Americans Studying the Traditional Japanese Art of the Tea Ceremony: The Internationalizing of a Traditional Art* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1992), p. 14.

[27] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 478.

[28] Ibid., p. 262.

[29] Mori, *Americans Studying the Traditional Japanese Art of the Tea Ceremony*, p. 49.

[30] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 2.

[31] Ibid., p. 136.

[32] Franco and Ramanathan, 'The recovery of religious meaning', p. 191 [emphasis in original].

[33] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 136.

[34] Ibid., p. 136 [emphasis added].

[35] Mori, *Americans Studying the Traditional Japanese Art of the Tea Ceremony*, p. 13.

[36] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 136.

[37] Sen Sōshitsu, *Chado*: *The Japanese Way of Tea*, translated and edited by Masuo Yamaguchi, James T. Conte, Nancy Yamada, Takeya Yamasaki, Charles C. Santon, and Akiko Mori (New York, Tokyō, Kyōto: Weatherhill and Tankosha, 1979). Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual.*

[38] Okakura Kakuzō (Tenshin), *The Book of Tea* (New York: Dover Publications, 1964 [1906]). Fukukita Yasunosuke, *Tea Cult of Japan: An Aesthetic Pastime* (Tōkyō: Board of Tourist Industry Japanese Government Railways, 1934). Suzuki Daisetzu (trans. Kitagawa Momō), *Zen to Nihon Bunka* [Zen and Japanese Culture], Series Number 75, Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1940, p. 123. Suzuki Daisetzu (trans. Kitagawa Momō), *Zen to Nihon Bunka* [Zen and Japanese Culture], Series Number 94, Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1942, p. 93. Emori Nahiko, 'On tea-room enjoyment', in Emori Nahiko and Asahitani Sau, *Chashitsu* [Tearooms], (Ōsaka: Asahi Shimbun, 1949), unpaginated.

[39] Kramer,'The Cult of Tea', pp. ii-iii.

[40] Ibid., p. vi.

[41] Cross, 'Reifying the deified Rikyū'.

[42] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. xiii.

[43] Mori, *Americans Studying the Traditional Japanese Art of the Tea Ceremony*, p. 168.
[44] Norman Fairclough, *Media Discourse* (London: Edward Arnold, 1995).
[45] Mori, *Americans Studying the Traditional Japanese Art of the Tea Ceremony*, p. 106.
[46] Kramer,'The Cult of Tea', p. iv.
[47] Loc. cit. Tim Cross, 'Speaking truth to power: is tea a cult?', in *Fukuoka University Review of Literature and Humanities*, vol. 30, no. 3 (1998), pp. 1667–96.
[48] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, pp. 221–4.
[49] Ibid., pp. 89–93.
[50] Britt-Louise Gunnarsson, Per Linell, and Bengt Nordberg, *The Construction of Professional Discourse* (London: Longman, 1997), p. 4.
[51] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 136.
[52] Gunnarsson et al., *The Construction of Professional Discourse*, p. 4.
[53] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, pp. 89–90 [emphasis added].
[54] Mori, *Americans Studying the Traditional Japanese Art of the Tea Ceremony*, p. 54.
[55] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 224.
[56] Mori, *Americans Studying the Traditional Japanese Art of the Tea Ceremony*, p. 166.
[57] Norris, *Reclaiming Truth*, p. 231.
[58] It is the pleasant surprise of seeing some variation of the standard serving procedure or the use of unusual utensils that make these seasonal variations more interesting for guests.
[59] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 229.
[60] Ibid., pp. 229, 276.
[61] Kramer, 'The Cult of Tea', p. 189.
[62] Michael Herzfeld, 'The taming of revolution: intense paradoxes of the self', in Deborah E. Reed-Danahay (ed.), *Auto/Ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social* (London: Berg, 1997), p. 182.
[63] Franco and Ramanathan, 'The recovery of religious meaning', p. 183.
[64] After a decade of tea practice, I am now ready to acknowledge that improvization is based on the firm foundation of the routine. The problematic question for those wishing to chart the play of tea-room power is to what extent does the routine shape and limit the possibilities for spontaneity?

## *Chapter 8*

[1] Eric Cazdyn, *The Flash of Capital: Film and Geopolitics in Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), pp. 104–105.
[2] Hasegawa Nyozekan, in Joseph L. Anderson and Donald Richie (eds), *The Japanese Film: Art and Industry* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 129. For a nuanced portrait of Hasegawa, see Mary L. Hanneman, *Hasegawa Nyozekan and Liberalism in Modern Japan* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2009).

[3] Darrell William Davis, *Picturing Japaneseness: Monumental Style, National Identity, Japanese Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 249.
[4] Beatrice Bodart, 'Tea and counsel: the political role of Sen Rikyū', in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 32, no. 1 (1977), p. 52.
[5] Kuwata Tadachika, *Teihon Sen Rikyū no Shokan* (Tōkyō: Tōkyōdō, 1971).
[6] Bodart, 'Tea and counsel: the political role of Sen Rikyū', p. 53.
[7] Andrew M. Watsky, 'Commerce, politics, and tea: the career of Imai Sōkyū', in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 50, no. 1 (1995), p. 62. This article is also a chapter in Morgan Pitelka (ed.) *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice*, London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003, pp. 18–38.
[8] Barbara Lynne Rowland Mori*, Americans Studying the Traditional Japanese Art of the Tea Ceremony: The Internationalizing of a Traditional Art* (San Francisco: Mellen Research University Press, 1992), p. 13. The details of the Gengensai petition were addressed in the Chapter 2 section entitled 'Meiji tea: the aesthetic seduction of an ideological tool of state'.
[9] Watsky, 'Commerce, politics, and tea: the career of Imai Sōkyū', p. 65.
[10] Citing *Chajidan*, Sen Sōshitsu links the *daisu* with Murata Jukō (Shukō) and not Rikyū. According to Sen, the relevant temple is Shōfukuji and not Sūfukuji as Ludwig suggests: 'At that time there was a *daisu* at the Daitokuji in Murasakino, Kyoto, but no one knew how to use it. It was a tea stand that had come many years earlier as a present from Song China to the Shōfukuji, a Zen temple in Hakata in Kyūshū. (Note: Ankokuzan Shōfukuji is in Hakozaki, Hakata, Chikuzen province. Its mountain gate has a tablet with a six-character inscription written by former emperor Go-Toba. It says, "First Zen Temple in Japan". Today's formal tea ritual using the *daisu* originated with this shelf.) This shelf was later sent to Hieizan and after that came to Daitokuji. When Jukō spied it, he proclaimed it could only be for tea and promptly began using it in his tea service.' Sen Sōshitsu, *The Japanese Way of Tea: From its Origins in China to Sen Rikyū*, trans. V. Dixon Morris (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998), p. 129.
[11] 'The *daisu* is a large stand with a base board and one shelf on which all the other utensils rest. The other utensils include a kettle and a brazier; a *kaigu*, a set of matching bronze utensils which include a *mizusashi* (water jar), *kensui* (waste water receptacle), *futaoki* (lid rest) and *shakutate* (ladle stand), a Chinese tea caddy (tea container), and a Chinese tea bowl.' Dale Slusser, 'The transformation of tea practice in sixteenth-century Japan', in Morgan Pitelka (ed.) *Japanese Tea Culture: Art, History, and Practice* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), pp. 57–8.
[12] Theodore M. Ludwig, 'Before Rikyū: religious and aesthetic influences in the early history of the tea ceremony', in *Monumenta Nipponica*, vol. 36, no. 4 (1981), pp. 382–3.

[13] Jennifer L. Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), p. 28.
[14] Money L. Hickman, *Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 70.
[15] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 31.
[16] Ibid., pp. 34–5.
[17] Ludwig, 'Before Rikyū', p. 390.
[18] Dore Ashton, *The Delicate Thread: Teshigahara's Life in Art* (Tōkyō: Kodansha, 1997), p. 167.
[19] Gary S. Cadwallader, 'Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama' [review article], in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 87 (1997), p. 72.
[20] Slusser, 'The transformation of tea practice in sixteenth-century Japan', pp. 45, 57.
[21] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 50.
[22] Sen, *The Japanese Way of Tea: From its Origins in China to Sen Rikyū*, p. 129.
[23] Watsky, 'Commerce, politics, and tea: the career of Imai Sōkyū', p. 48.
[24] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: invented traditions', in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds), *Invented Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 1.
[25] Robert Kramer, 'The Cult of Tea', Ph.D. thesis (Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Far Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1985).
[26] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 51.
[27] Herbert Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2003), p. 192.
[28] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 49.
[29] Ibid., p. 68.
[30] A. S. Gibbs renders *kirei sabi* as elegant spareness.
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[41] Tsutsui, 'The role of anecdotes in the transmission of tea traditions', p. 45.

[42] Ibid., pp. 47–9. Cox cites the 1626 book, and the remaining three are documented by Tsutsui. Rupert A. Cox, *The Zen Arts: An Anthropological Study of the Culture of Aesthetic Form in Japan* (London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2003), p. 131.

[43] Tsutsui, 'The role of anecdotes in the transmission of tea traditions', pp. 44–5.

[44] Ibid., pp. 45–6.

[45] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 56.

[46] Jean-Francois Lyotard (Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi trans.), *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), p. 27.

[47] The *chamei* is another device for creating the sense of tea's otherworldliness. Step into the tea-room to assume another name and perform using an alternative mode of consciousness.

[48] Scott, 'The evidence of experience', p. 365.

[49] David Bell, 'Centre and periphery Down Under: Australian national cinema and the global information order', in *UTS Review*, vol. 5, no. 2 (1999), p. 199.

[50] Davis, *Picturing Japaneseness*, p. 7.

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[53] Karatani Kojin, 'Uses of aesthetics: after Orientalism', trans. Sabu Kohso, in *boundary 2*, vol. 25, no. 2 (1998), pp. 154, 155, 156.

[54] Davis, *Picturing Japaneseness*, p. 249.

[55] Arne Kalland and Pamela J. Asquith, 'Japanese perceptions of nature: ideals and illusions', in Pamela J. Asquith and Arne Kalland (eds), *Japanese Images of Nature: Cultural Perspectives* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997), p. 3.

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[57] Bell, 'Centre and periphery Down Under', p. 200.
[58] Ibid., p. 200.
[59] Slusser, 'The transformation of tea practice in sixteenth-century Japan', p. 56.
[60] Davis, *Picturing Japaneseness*, p. 247.
[61] Subhash Jaireth, 'Anthony Minghella's *The English Patient*: monoscopic seeing of novelistic heteroglossia', in *UTS Review*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1998), p. 65.
[62] See A. L. Sadler, Cha-no-yu: *The Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Rutland and Tōkyō: Charles Tuttle, 1998 [1933]), pp. 102–103 for variations of this anecdote.
[63] Kalland and Asquith, 'Japanese perceptions of nature: ideals and illusions', p. 17.
[64] Bell, 'Centre and periphery Down Under', p. 200.
[65] Michel de Certeau, *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1986), p. 203.
[66] Davis, *Picturing Japaneseness*, p. 246.
[67] Ashton, *The Delicate Thread: Teshigahara's Life in Art*, p. 153.
[68] Susan Hayward, *Key Concepts in Cinema Studies* (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 371–9.
[69] Bell, 'Centre and periphery Down Under', p. 199.
[70] Jaireth, 'Anthony Minghella's *The English Patient*', pp. 64–5.
[71] Doris Sommer, ' "Not just a personal story": women's *testimonios* and the plural self', in Bella Brodzki and Celeste Schank (eds), *Life/Lines: Theorizing Women's Autobiography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), pp. 107–30.
[72] Anderson and Richie, *The Japanese Film: Art and Industry*, p. 129.
[73] Bell, 'Centre and periphery Down Under', p. 200.
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[75] Teshigahara Hiroshi, *Rikyū* (Tōkyō: Shōchiku, 1989). All transcripts are from the film's English subtitles.
[76] For the details of Hideyoshi's first serving of tea to the Emperor in 1585, and the second serving using the gold tea-room in 1586, see Slusser, 'The transformation of tea practice in sixteenth-century Japan', p. 52.
[77] Davis, *Picturing Japaneseness*, p. 247.
[78] Hickman, *Japan's Golden Age: Momoyama*, p. 305.
[79] Ashton, *The Delicate Thread: Teshigahara's Life in Art*, p. 158.
[80] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Stephen Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 87.

[81] Teshigahara, *Rikyū*.
[82] Sommer, '"Not just a personal story": women's *testimonios* and the plural self', p. 110.
[83] Anderson, *Introduction to Japanese Tea Ritual*, p. 49.
[84] George Kouvaros, 'Lessons in writing: learning from Barthes', in *UTS Review*, vol. 4, no. 2 (1998), p. 113.
[85] This 'magnificent steed' phrase was implicated in discussions around the formation of the *wabi* aesthetic. Citing page 32 of Kuwata Tadachika's 1957 *Yamanoue Sōji Ki no Kenkyū*, Sen Sōshitsu identifies the following statement attributed to Murata Jukō (1422–1502) [rendered by Anderson 1991 as Murata Shukō] as important: 'Jukō said, "It is best to have a magnificent steed in a straw hut." Thus, it is good to have famous antique utensils in a rough tea-room. Such an atmosphere will be even more affecting.' Sen, *The Japanese Way of Tea: From its Origins in China to Sen Rikyū*, p. 141.
[86] Teshigahara, *Rikyū*. The subtitles do not capitalize the Way of Tea.
[87] Kalland and Asquith, 'Japanese perceptions of nature: ideals and illusions', p. 12.
[88] Peter Ackermann, 'The four seasons: one of Japanese culture's most central concepts', in Pamela J. Asquith and Arne Kalland (eds), *Japanese Images of Nature: Cultural Perspectives* (Richmond: Curzon Press, 1997), p. 52.
[89] Robert Kramer, 'The Cult of Tea', p. 189.
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[94] de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, p. 203.
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[96] Norma Fields, *In the Realm of the Dying Emperor: Japan at Century's End* (New York: Vintage, 1992), pp. 146–7.

## *Chapter 9*

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[4] Ayako Kano, 'Visuality and gender in modern Japanese theater: looking at Salome', in *Japan Forum*, vol. 11, no. 1 (1999), p. 54.
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[6] Ibid., p. 34.
[7] Satō Tadao, *Currents in Japanese Cinema*, trans. Gregory Barrett (Tōkyō and London: Kodansha, 1982 [1976]), p. 225.
[8] Beverly Buehrer, *Japanese Films: A Filmography and Commentary, 1921–1989* (Chicago and London: St James Press, 1990), p. 220.
[9] Loc. cit.
[10] Satō, *Currents in Japanese Cinema*, p. 225.
[11] *Karayuki* were Japanese women who worked as prostitutes outside Japan. For a reading of Sandakan Brothel No. 8 as a gendered history of class, see Yamazaki Tomoko, *Sandakan Brothel No. 9: An Episode in the History of Lower-Class Japanese Women*, trans. Karen Colligan-Taylor (Armonk and London: M. E. Sharpe, 1999). The work of Yamazaki is framed by Andrea Germer, 'Feminist history in Japan: national and international perspectives', in *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context*, no. 9 (2003). The role of *karayuki* in prostitution in Singapore during the period 1880–1940 is addressed by James Francis Warren, *Ah Ku and Karayuki-san: Prostitution in Singapore, 1880–1940* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2003).
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[14] Satō, *Currents in Japanese Cinema*, p. 170.
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[16] Pu-ja Kim, 'Seeing sexual slavery from a zainichi perspective', in *Asia Quarterly Review*, vol. 25, no. 4 (1995), pp. 86–7.
[17] Satō, *Currents in Japanese Cinema*, p. 171.
[18] Stefan Tanaka, 'Imaging history: inscribing belief in the nation', in *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 53, no. 1 (1994), p. 27.
[19] Darrell William Davis, *Picturing Japaneseness: Monumental Style, National Identity, Japanese Film* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), p. 2.
[20] The two gatherings are: the Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu Kinen Ōkenchakai (8–12 October 1936) commemorating the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Kitano Ōchanoyu; and the Rikyū 350 Nenki Ōchakai (21–23 April 1940) commemorating the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of Rikyū's death. For *Kyōto Shimbun* coverage of the Shōwa Kitano Ōchanoyu Kinen Ōkenchakai, see Figure 9.

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[23] *Genzai Shishiryō*, vol. 40, p. 263, quoted in Freda Freiberg, 'The transition to sound in Japan', in Tom O'Regan and Brian Shoesmith (eds), *History on/and/in Film* (Perth: History and Film Association of Australia, 1987), p. 78.
[24] Satō, *Currents in Japanese Cinema*, p. 224.
[25] Ibid., p. 46.
[26] Ibid., p. 43.
[27] Ibid., p. 44.
[28] Abe Mark Nornes, 'Cherry trees and corpses: representations of violence from WWII', in Abe Mark Nornes and Fukushima Yukio (eds), *The Japan/America Film Wars: World War II Propaganda and Its Cultural Contents* (Switzerland, Harwood Academic Publishers, 1992), p. 153.
[29] Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery*, p. 123.
[30] Nornes, 'Cherry trees and corpses', p. 155.
[31] Cynthia Baron, '*The Player*'s parody of Hollywood: a different kind of suture', in Cristina Degli-Esposti (ed.), *Postmodernism in the Cinema* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1998), p. 39.
[32] Marguerite Waller, 'Decolonizing the screen: from *Ladri di biciclette* to *Ladri di saponette*', in Beverly Allen and Mary Russo (eds), *Revisioning Italy: National Identity and Global Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), p. 262.
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[34] Sakai, *Translation and Subjectivity: On 'Japan' and Cultural Nationalism*, p. 101.
[35] Ibid., p. 201.
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[39] Teun A. van Dijk, 'Opinions and ideologies in the press', in Allen Bell and Peter Garrett (eds), *Approaches to Media Discourse* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), pp. 21–63.
[40] Editor, in Inoue, 'Memoirs of Monk Honkaku', p. 57.
[41] Murai Yasuhiko, 'Rikyū's disciples', in *Chanoyu Quarterly*, no. 66 (1991), pp. 26, 31.

[42] Ibid., p. 27.
[43] A. L. Sadler, *Cha-no-yu: The Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Rutland and Tōkyō: Charles Tuttle, 1998 [1933]), p. 99. Shō-ō may be Takeno Jōō.
[44] Ibid., p. 140.
[45] Hara Kazuo, 'Urakusai ni gyōshuku shita Kumai Kei kantoku no aru omoi', [The thoughts of director Kumai Kei condensed in Uraku], *Kinema Junpō*, no. 1018 (1989), pp. 94–5.
[46] All Scene numbers correspond to the Appendix, available from tim@fukuoka-u.ac.jp and online via http://ci.nii.ac.jp/search?author=Cross+Tim.
[47] Baron, '*The Player*'s parody of Hollywood: a different kind of suture', p. 22.
[48] Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery*, p. 112.
[49] Satō, *Currents in Japanese Cinema*, p. 164.
[50] For details explaining why volunteering tended to be unanimous, see Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney, *Kamikaze, Cherry Blossoms and Nationalisms: The Militarization of Aesthetics in Japanese History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), pp. 169–74.
[51] The slavish imitation of Rikyū by Uraku is conveyed by the anecdote 'Oda Yūraku's mistake', quoted in this chapter's later section entitled 'History into film: emphasizing transmission and "the authentic"'. See Sadler, *Cha-no-yu: The Japanese Tea Ceremony*, p. 140. For an account of Uraku and the fake scroll see Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery*, pp. 215–17.
[52] Robert Kramer, 'The Cult of Tea', Ph.D. thesis (Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Far Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1985), p.183.
[53] Myles Horton and Paulo Freire, *We Make the Road by Walking: Conversations on Education and Social Change* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991).
[54] Patti Lather, *Feminist Research in Education: Within/Against* (Geelong: Deakin University Press, 1991), p. 32.
[55] Jamrozik, Boland and Urquhart, *Social Change and Cultural Transformation in Australia*, p. 29 [emphasis in original].
[56] Levine, *Daitokuji: The Visual Cultures of a Zen Monastery*, p. 86.

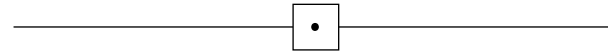
## *Chapter 10*

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[2] Christopher Barnard, *Language, Ideology and Japanese History Textbooks* (New York: Routledge, 2003).
[3] Etsuko Katō, *Tea Ceremony and Women's Empowerment in Modern Japan: Bodies Re-Presenting the Past* (London: Routledge-Curzon, 2004), pp. 41–2. In Katō's

defence, the category of overseas researcher is not a comment on ethnicity, citizenship, or country of residence. Instead Katō is it referring to the use of theoretical models developed in languages other than Japanese (Katō, personal correspondence).

[4] The Chinese *kanshi* and Japanese verses of Rikyū's death poems are adapted from Herbert Plutschow, *Rediscovering Rikyu and the Beginnings of the Japanese Tea Ceremony* (Folkestone: Global Oriental, 2003), p. 108. Although the fourth line of that version reads 'I kill both the Patriarchs and the Buddha', Herbert Plutschow now prefers this rendition 'Away with all the buddhas and patriarchs!' (Plutschow, personal correspondence). Suzuki Daisetsu admits his 1959 translation is a rough adaptation, but this qualification is most relevant to his second line. I have rendered his second line 'And what a fuss!' in a manner that acknowledges our Chapter 5 discussion of how the characters for authority, embrace and hope from the death poem of Rikyū reappear as the names of sets of tea ware assembled to commemorate anniversaries of his *seppuku* death. I am extremely indebted to Fukuoka University colleagues, Professors Kamiya Masakazu and Matsuzuka Shunzō for their assistance in making a modest improvement to the canonical translation of Suzuki Daisetsu. This small change in line two is a more literal translation that brings it closer to the Rikyū original. Thematically this re-interpretation is important because it highlights the question of the relationship of tea to political forms of power and authority.

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